

Sardinian language

Sardinian or **Sard** (*sardu* [ˈsaɾdu] / *sadru* [ˈsaðru], *limba sarda* [ˈlimba ˈzaɾda] or *lingua sarda* [ˈlinɣwa ˈzaɾda]) is a Romance language spoken by the **Sardinians** on the Western Mediterranean island of **Sardinia**.

Many Romance linguists consider it the language that is closest to Latin, among all the genealogical descendants of Latin.^{[11][12]} However, it has also incorporated elements of a Pre-Latin (mostly Paleo-Sardinian and, to a much lesser degree, Punic) substratum,^[13] as well as a Byzantine Greek, Catalan, Spanish and Italian superstratum. These elements of the language originate in the political history of the island of Sardinia: before the Middle Ages, it was for a time a Byzantine possession; then, after a significant period of self-rule with the *Judicates*, it came during the *late Middle Ages* into the Iberian sphere of influence; and finally, from the 18th century onward, under the Italian one.

In 1997, Sardinian, along with other languages spoken on the island, was recognized by regional law as an official language of Sardinia,^[2] and in 1999, Sardinian and eleven other *minoranze linguistiche storiche* ("historical linguistic minorities") were similarly recognized by national law (specifically, Law No. 482/1999).^[14] Among these, Sardinian is notable as having the largest number of speakers.^{[15][16][17][18]}

However, the number of native speakers has been declining, threatening the vitality of the Sardinian-speaking community.^[19] While it was estimated in 2007 that 68.4 percent of the inhabitants of Sardinia had a good oral command of Sardinian,^[20] most of them were beyond retirement age. Only 13 percent of children were reported to have this level of competence in the language,^{[21][22]} with Sardinian being kept as a *heritage language*.^{[23][24]} UNESCO has classified the language as "definitely endangered".^[25]

Sardinian	
Sard	
<i>sardu</i>	
<i>limba / lingua sarda</i>	
Pronunciation	[ˈsaɾdu]
Native to	Italy
Region	Sardinia
Ethnicity	Sardinians
Native speakers	1,350,000 ^[1] (2016)
Language family	Indo-European <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Italic ▪ Romance ▪ Sardinian
Dialects	Logudorese Sardinian (<i>sardu logudoresu</i>) Campidanese Sardinian (<i>sardu campidanesu</i>)
Official status	
Official language in	Italy (↗ Sardinia) ^{[2][3]}
Recognised minority language in	Italy
Regulated by	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Logudorese orthography^{[4][5]} • Campidanese orthography^{[6][7]} • <i>Limba Sarda Comuna</i> code^{[8][9]}
Language codes	
ISO 639-1	sc (https://www.loc.gov/standards/iso639-2/php/langcodes_name.php?iso_639_1=sc)
ISO 639-2	srd (https://www.loc.gov/standards/iso639-2/php/langcodes_name.php?code_ID=423)
ISO 639-3	srd – inclusive code Sardinian Individual codes: sro – Campidanese Sardinian src – Logudorese Sardinian
Glottolog	sard1257 (http://glottolog.org/resource/languid/id/sard1257) ^[10]
Linguasphere	51-AAA-s
	

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Overview

Now the question arises as to whether Sardinian is to be considered a dialect or a language in its own right. Politically speaking,^[note 1] it is clearly one of the many dialects^[note 1] of Italy, just like the Serbo-Croatian and the Albanian spoken in various villages of Calabria and Sicily. However, from a linguistic point of view, that is a different question. It can be said that Sardinian has no relationship whatsoever with any

dialect of mainland Italy; it is an archaic Romance speech with its own distinctive characteristics, showing a very original vocabulary in addition to morphology and syntax rather different from the Italian dialects.^[note 2]

— Max Leopold Wagner, *La lingua sarda*, 1951 – Ilisso, pp. 90–91

Sardinian is considered the most conservative Romance language,^{[26][27]} and its substratum (Paleo-Sardinian or Nuragic) has also been researched. A 1949 study by the Italian-American linguist Mario Pei, analyzing the degree of difference from a language's parent (Latin, in the case of Romance languages) by comparing phonology, inflection, syntax, vocabulary, and intonation, indicated the following percentages (the higher the percentage, the greater the distance from Latin):^[28] Sardinian 8%, Italian 12%, Spanish 20%, Romanian 23.5%, Occitan 25%, Portuguese 31%, and French 44%. For example, Latin "*Pone mihi tres panes in bertula*" (put three loaves of bread [from home] in the bag for me) would be the very similar "*Ponem i tres panes in bertula*" in Sardinian.^[29]

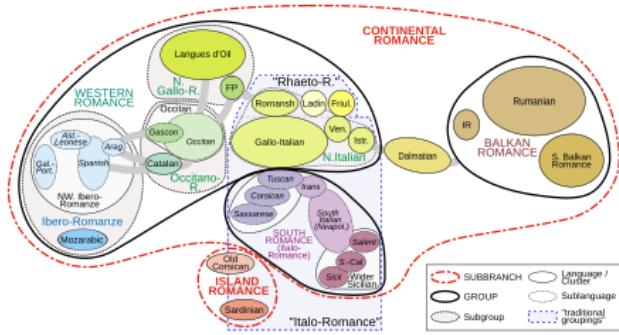


Chart of Romance languages based on structural and comparative criteria (not on socio-functional ones). Koryakov (2001) ascribes Sardinian to the separated Island Romance branch of the Romance languages, along with old Corsican (modern Corsican is in fact part of the broad Italo-Romance family).^[30]



Hunter, Nuragic bronze statuette



Linguistic map of Sardinia. Sardinian is yellow (Logudorese) and orange (Campidanese).

Compared to the mainland Italian dialects, Sardinian is virtually incomprehensible for Italians,^[31] and is in fact considered a distinct linguistic group among the Romance languages.^{[32][33][34][35][36]}

History

Sardinia's relative isolation from mainland Europe encouraged the development of a Romance language that preserves traces of its indigenous, pre-Roman language(s). The language is posited to have substratal influences from Paleo-Sardinian, which some scholars have linked to Basque^{[37][38]} and Etruscan.^[39] Adstratal influences include Catalan, Spanish, and Italian. The situation of Sardinian language with regard to the politically dominant ones did not change until fascism^[40] and, most evidently, the 1950s.^{[41][42]}

Origins of modern Sardinian

Prenuragic and Nuragic era

The origins of ancient Sardinian, also known as Paleo-Sardinian, are currently unknown. Research has attempted to discover obscure, indigenous, pre-Romance roots. The root *s(ə)rd*, indicating many place names as well as the island's people, is reportedly either associated with or originating from the Sherden, one of the Sea Peoples.^[43] Other sources trace instead the root *s(a)rd* from Σαρδώ, a legendary woman from the Anatolian Kingdom of Lydia,^{[44][45]} or from the Libyan mythological figure of the Sardus Pater *Babai* ("Sardinian Father" or "Father of the Sardinians").^{[46][47][48][49][50][51][52]}

In 1984, Massimo Pittau claimed to have found the etymology of many Latin words in the Etruscan language, after comparing it with the Nuragic language(s).^[39] Etruscan elements, formerly thought to have originated in Latin, would indicate a connection between the ancient Sardinian culture and the Etruscans. According to Pittau, the Etruscan and Nuragic language(s) are descended from Lydian (and therefore Indo-European) as a consequence of contact with Etruscans and other Tyrrhenians from Sardis as described by Herodotus.^[39] Although Pittau suggests that the Tirrenii landed in Sardinia and the Etruscans landed in modern Tuscany, his views are not shared by most Etruscologists.

According to Bertoldi and Terracini, Paleo-Sardinian has similarities with the Iberic languages and Sicilian; for example, the suffix *-ara* in proparoxytones indicated the plural. Terracini proposed the same for suffixes in *-àna/-ànnia/-énnia/-ònna/-rà/-rànnia* + */r/* + a paragogic vowel (such as the toponym *Bunnànnaru*). Rohlf, Butler and Craddock add the suffix *-ini* (such as the toponym *Barùmini*) as a unique element of Paleo-Sardinian. Suffixes in */a, e, o, u/* + *-rr-* found a correspondence in north Africa (Terracini), in Iberia (Blasco Ferrer) and in southern Italy and Gascony (Rohlf), with a closer relationship to Basque (Wagner and Hubschmid). However, these early links to a Basque precursor have been questioned by some Basque linguists.^[53] According to Terracini, suffixes in *-ài/-éi/-òi/-ùi* are common to Paleo-Sardinian and northern African languages. Pittau emphasized that this concerns terms originally ending in an accented vowel, with an attached paragogic vowel; the suffix resisted Latinization in some place names, which show a Latin body and a Nuragic suffix. According to Bertoldi, some toponyms ending in *-ài/-ànnia/-ànnia/-àsai/-àsai* indicated an Anatolian influence. The suffix *-aiko/-aikos*, widely used in Iberia and possibly of Celtic origin, and the ethnic suffix in *-itanos/-etanos* (for example, the Sardinian *Sulcitanos*) have also been noted as Paleo-Sardinian elements (Terracini, Ribezzo, Wagner, Hubschmid and Faust).

Linguists Blasco Ferrer (2009, 2010) and Arregi (2017)^[54] have attempted to revive a theoretical connection with Basque by linking words such as Sardinian *ospile* "fresh grazing for cattle" and Basque *ozpil*; Sardinian *arrotzeri* "vagabond" and Basque *arrotz* "stranger"; Sardinian *golostiu* and Basque *gorosti* "holly"; Gallurese (Corso-Sardinian) *zerru* "pig" (with *z* for [dz]) and Basque *zerri* (with *z* for [s]). Genetic data have found the Basques to be close to the Sardinians.^{[55][56][57]}

Since the Neolithic period, some degree of variance across the island's regions is also attested. The Arzachena culture, for instance, suggests a link between the northernmost Sardinian region (Gallura) and southern Corsica that finds further confirmation in the *Naturalis Historia* by Pliny the Elder. There are also some stylistic differences across Northern and Southern Nuragic Sardinia, which may indicate the existence of two other tribal groups (Balares and Ilienses) mentioned by the same Roman author. According to the archeologist Giovanni Ugas,^[58] these tribes may have in fact played a role in shaping the current regional linguistic differences of the island.

Classical period

Around the 10th and 9th century BC, Phoenician merchants were known to have made their presence in Sardinia, which acted as a geographical mediator in between the Iberian and the Italian peninsula. In the eighth and seventh centuries, the Phoenicians began to develop permanent settlements, politically arranged as city-states in similar fashion to the Lebanese coastal areas. It did not take long before they started gravitating around the Carthaginian sphere of influence, whose level of prosperity spurred Carthage to send a series of expeditionary forces to the island; although they were initially repelled by the natives, the North African city vigorously pursued a policy of active imperialism and, by the sixth century, managed to establish its political hegemony and military control over South-Western Sardinia. Punic began to be spoken in the area, and many words entered ancient Sardinian as well. Names like *giara* "plateau" (cf. Hebrew "forest, scrub"), *g(r)uspinu* "nasturtium" (from the Punic *cusmin*), *curma* "fringed rue" (cf. *ḥarmal* "Syrian rue"), *mítza* "source" (cf. Hebrew *mitsa*, *metza* "place whence something emerges"), *síntziri* "marsh horsetail" (from the Punic *zunzur* "common knotgrass"), *tzeúrra* "sprout" (from the Punic *zera* "seed"), *tzichiria* "dill" (from the Punic *sikkíria*; cf. Hebrew *šekār* "ale") and *tzípiri* "rosemary" (from the Punic *zibbir*) are commonly used, especially in the modern Sardinian varieties of the Campidanese plain, while proceeding northwards the influence is more limited to place names, like *Macumadas* in the Province of Nuoro or *Magumadas* in Gesico and Nureci, which derive from the Punic *maqom hadash* "new city".^{[59][60]}



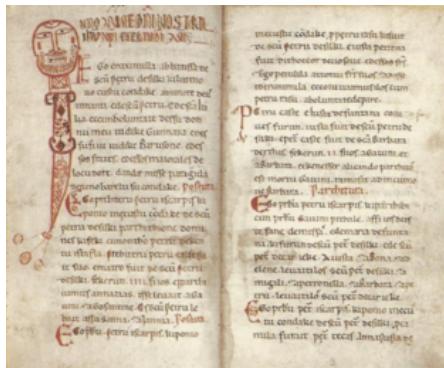
Location of the Sardinian tribes, as described by the Roman sources.

The Roman domination began in 238 B.C. and brought Latin to Sardinia, but was often contested by the local Sardinian tribes and proved unable to completely supplant the pre-Latin Sardinian languages, including Punic, which continued to be spoken in the A.D. 4th century as attested by votive inscriptions.^[61] Some obscure Nuragic roots remained unchanged, and in many cases Latin accepted the local roots (like *nur*, presumably from Norax, which makes its appearance in nuraghe, Nurra, Nurri and many other toponyms). Barbagia, the mountainous central region of the island, derives its name from the Latin Barbaria (a term meaning "Land of the Barbarians", similar in origin to the word Barbary), because its people refused cultural and linguistic assimilation for a long time: 50% of toponyms of central Sardinia, particularly in the territory of Olzai, are actually not related to any known language.^[62] Besides the place names, on the island there are still a few names of plants, animals and geological formations directly traceable to the ancient Nuragic era.^[63] Cicero called the Sardinian rebels *latrones mastrucati* ("thieves with rough wool cloaks") to emphasize Roman superiority.^[64]

During the long Roman domination Latin gradually became however the speech of the majority of the island's inhabitants.^[65] As a result of this process of Romanization, the modern Sardinian language is today classified as Romance or neo-Latin, with some phonetic features resembling Old Latin. Some linguists assert that modern Sardinian, being part of the Island Romance group,^[30] was the first language to split off from Latin,^[66] all others evolving from Latin as Continental Romance.

At that time, the only literature being produced in Sardinia was mostly in Latin: the native (Paleo-Sardinian) and non-native (Punic) pre-Roman languages were then already extinct (the last Punic inscription in Bithia, southern Sardinia, is from the second or third century A.D.^[67]). Some engraved poems in ancient Greek and Latin (the two most prestigious languages in the Roman Empire)^[68] are to be seen in Viper Cave, Cagliari, (*Grutta e sa Pibera* in Sardinian, *Grotta della Vipera* in Italian, *Cripta Serpentum* in Latin), a burial monument built by Lucius Cassius Philippus (a Roman who had been exiled to Sardinia) in remembrance of his dead spouse Atilia Pomptilla. We also have some religious works by Saint Lucifer and Eusebius, both from Caralis (Cagliari).

Although Sardinia was culturally influenced and politically ruled by the Byzantine Empire for almost five centuries, Greek did not enter the language except for some ritual or formal expressions in Sardinian using Greek structure and, sometimes, the Greek alphabet.^{[69][70]} Evidence for this is found in the condaghes, the first written documents in Sardinian. From the long Byzantine era there are only a few entries but they already provide a glimpse of the sociolinguistic situation on the island in which, in addition to the community's everyday Neo-Latin language, Greek was also spoken by the ruling classes.^[71] Some toponyms, such as *Jerzu* (thought to derive from the Greek *khér̄sos*, "untilled"), together with the personal names Mikhaleis, Konstantine and Basilis, demonstrate Greek influence.^[71]



The condaghe of Saint Peter of Silki (1065-1180), written in Sardinian.

As the Muslims conquered southern Italy and Sicily, communications broke down between Constantinople and Sardinia, whose districts became progressively more autonomous from the Byzantine oecumene (Greek: οἰκουμένη). Sardinia was then brought back into the Latin cultural sphere.

Judicates period

Sardinian was the first Romance language of all to gain official status, being used by the four Judicates,^{[72][73][74][75][note 3]} former Byzantine districts that became independent political entities after the Arab expansion in the Mediterranean cut off any ties left between the island and Byzantium. One of the oldest documents left in Sardinian (the so-called *Carta Volgare*) comes from the Judicate of Cagliari and was issued by Torchitorio I de Lacon-Gunale in around 1070, employing the Greek alphabet.^[76] Old Sardinian had a greater number of archaisms and Latinisms than the present language does. While the earlier documents show the existence of an early Sardinian Koine,^{[77][78]} the language used by the various Judicates already displayed a certain range of dialectal variation.^{[42][19]} A special position was occupied by the Judicate of Arborea, the last Sardinian kingdom to fall to foreign powers, in which a transitional dialect was spoken, that of

Middle Sardinian. The *Carta de Logu* of the Kingdom of Arborea, one of the first constitutions in history drawn up in 1355–1376 by Marianus IV and the Queen, the "Lady Judge" (*judikessa* in Sardinian, *jutgessa* in Catalan, *giudicessa* in Italian) Eleanor, was written in this transitional variety of Sardinian, and remained in force until 1827.^{[79][80]} It is presumed the Arborean judges attempted to unify the Sardinian dialects in order to be legitimate rulers of the entire island under a single state (*republica sardisca* "Sardinian Republic");^[81] such political goal, after all, was already manifest in 1164, when the Arborean Judge Barison ordered his great seal to be made with the writings "*Baresonus Dei Gratia Rei Sardiniee*" ("Barison, by the grace of God, King of Sardinia") and *Est vis Sardorum pariter regnum Populorum* ("The people's rule is equal to the Sardinians' own force").^[82]

Dante Alighieri wrote in his 1302–05 essay *De vulgari eloquentia* that Sardinians, not being Italians (*Latii*) and having no *lingua vulgaris* of their own, resorted to aping Latin instead.^{[31][83][84][85][86][87]} Dante's view has been dismissed, as Sardinian had been following its own course in a way which was already unintelligible to non-islanders. In the popular 12th-century verse from Raimbaut de Vaqueiras' poem *Domna, tant vos ai preiada*, Sardinian



The first page of the Arborean Carta de Logu

epitomizes outlandish speech along with German and Berber, having the troubadour's wife say *No t'entend plui d'un Todesco / Sardesco o Barbari* ("I don't understand you any more than [I could] a German / Sard or Berber");^{[88][89][90][87][91]} the Tuscan poet Fazio degli Uberti refers to the Sardinians in his poem *Dittamondo* as *una gente che niuno non la intende / né essi sanno quel ch'altri pispiglia* ("a people that no one is able to understand / nor do they come to a knowledge of what other peoples say").^{[92][86][87]} The Muslim geographer Muhammad al-Idrisi, who lived in Palermo, Sicily at the court of King Roger II, wrote in his work *Kitab Nuzhat al-mushtaq fi'khtirāq al-āfāq* ("The book of pleasant journeys into faraway lands" or, simply, "The book of Roger") that "Sardinia is large, mountainous, poorly provided with water, two hundred and eighty miles long and one hundred and eighty long from west to east. [...] Sardinians are ethnically *Rūm Afāriqah*, like the Berbers; they shun contacts with all the other *Rūm* nations and are people of purpose and valiant that never leave the arms".^{[93][94]} Indeed, Sardinian was perceived as rather similar to the Latin dialects once spoken by the Christian Berbers in North Africa, giving credit to the theory that vulgar Latin in both Africa and Sardinia displayed a significant wealth of parallelisms.^[95]

Extract from the Logudorese Privilege (1080)

« In nomine Domini amen. Ego iudice Mariano de Lacon fazo ista carta ad onore de omnes homines de Pisas pro xu toloneu ci mi pecterunt: e ego donolislu pro ca lis so ego amicu caru e itsos a mimi; ci nullu imperatore ci lu aet potestare istu locu de non (n)apati comiati de leuarelis toloneu in placitu: de non occidere pisano ingratis: e ccausa ipsoro ci lis aem leuare ingratis, de facerlis iustitia imperatore ci nce aet exere intu locu [...] »

The literature of this period primarily consists of legal documents, besides the aforementioned *Carta de Logu*. The first document containing Sardinian elements is a 1063 donation to the abbey of Montecassino signed by Barisone I of Torres.^[96] Other documents are the *Carta Volgare* (1070–1080) in Campidanese, the 1080 Logudorese Privilege,^[note 4] the 1089 Donation of Torchitorio (in the Marseille archives),^[note 5] the 1190–1206 Marsellaise Chart (in Campidanese)^[note 6] and an 1173 communication between the Bishop Bernardo of Civita and Benedetto, who oversaw the *Opera del Duomo* in Pisa.^[note 7] The Statutes of Sassari (1316) and Castelgenovese (c. 1334) are written in Logudorese.^[note 8]

The first chronicle in *lingua sive ydiomate sardo*,^[97] called *Condagues de Sardina*, was published anonymously in the 13th century, relating the events of the Judicate of Torres.



Sardinian-language statutes of Sassari from the 13th–14th centuries

Iberian period – Catalan and Spanish influence

The 1297 feoffment of Sardinia by Pope Boniface VIII led to the creation of the Aragonese Kingdom of Sardinia and a long period of war between the Aragonese and Sardinians, ending with a Aragonese victory at Sanluri in 1409 and the renunciation of any succession right signed by William III of Narbonne in 1420.^[98] During this period the clergy adopted Catalan as their primary language, relegating Sardinian to a secondary but nonetheless relevant status with regards to the official acts and the Realm's law (the *Carta de Logu* was extended to most of the island in 1421 by the Parliament). Agreeing with Fara's *De rebus Sardois*,^[99] the Sardinian attorney Sigismondo Arquer, author of *Sardiniae brevis historia et descriptio* in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia Universalis* (whose report would also be quoted in Conrad Gessner's "On the different languages used by the various nations across the globe" with minor variations^[100]), stated that Sardinian prevailed in most of the Kingdom, with particular regard for the rural interior, and Catalan and Spanish were spoken in the cities, where the ruling class eventually became plurilingual in both the native and the Iberian languages;^[101] Alghero is still a Catalan-speaking enclave on Sardinia to this day.^[102]

The long-lasting war and the so-called Black Death had a devastating effect on the island, depopulating large parts of it. People from the neighbouring island of Corsica began to settle in the northern Sardinian coast, leading to the birth of the Tuscan-sounding Sassarese and Gallurese.^{[103][104]}

Despite Catalan being widely spoken and written on the island at this time (leaving a lasting influence in Sardinian), there are some written records of Sardinian, which was estimated to be the ordinary language of the Sardinians by the Jesuits in 1561.^[105] One is the 15th-century *Sa Vitta et sa Morte, et Passione de sanctu Gavini, Brothu et Ianuariu*, written by Antòni Canu (1400–1476) and published in 1557.^[105]

The 16th century is instead marked by a new Sardinian literary revival: *Rimas Spirituales*, by Hieronimu Araolla,^[107] was aimed at "glorifying and enriching Sardinian, our language" (*magnificare et arrichire sa limba nostra sarda*) as Spanish, French and Italian poets had already done for their languages (*la Deffense et illustration de la langue françoise* and *il Dialogo delle lingue*).^{[41][note 9]} Antonio Lo Frasso, a poet born in Alghero^[108] (a city he remembered fondly)^[note 10] who spent his life in Barcelona, wrote lyric poetry in Sardinian:^[109] ... *Non podende sufrire su tormentu / de su fogu ardente innamorosu. / Videndemi foras de sentimento / et sensa una hora de riposu, / pensende istare liberu e contentu / m'agato pius afluxi e congoixosu, / in essermi de te senora apartadu, / mudende ateru quelu, ateru istadu*

Through the marriage of Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon in 1469 and, later in 1624, the reorganization of the monarchy led by the Count-Duke of Olivares, Sardinia would progressively join a broad Spanish cultural sphere and leave the exclusive Aragonese one. Spanish was perceived as an elitist language, gaining solid ground among the ruling Sardinian class; Spanish had thus a profound influence on Sardinian, especially in those words, styles and cultural models owing to the prestigious international role of the Habsburg Monarchy as well as the Court.^{[note 11][107]} Most Sardinian authors would write in both Spanish and Sardinian until the 19th century and were well-versed in the former, like Vicente Bacallar y Sanna that was one of the founders of the Real Academia Española.^[110] A notable exception was Pedro Delitala (1550–1590), who decided to write in Italian instead.^{[108][111]} Nonetheless, the Sardinian language retained much of its importance, earning respect from the Spaniards in light of it being the ethnic code the people from most of the Kingdom kept using, especially in the interior.^{[112][note 12]}

Sardinian was also one of the few official languages, along with Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese, whose knowledge was required to be an officer in the Spanish tercios.^[113]

A 1620 proclamation is in the Bosa archives.^[note 13]

Ioan Matheu Garipa, a priest from Orgosolo who translated the Italian *Leggendario delle Sante Vergini e Martiri di Gesù Cristo* into Sardinian (*Legendariu de Santas Virgines, et Martires de Iesu Christu*) in 1627, was the first author to call Sardinian the closest living relative of classical Latin^[114] and, like Araolla before him, valued Sardinian as the language of a specific ethno-national community.^[115]



Some gravestones in the ancient cemetery of Ploaghe (Logudoro), wherein a total of thirty-nine gravestones have writings in Sardinian and three in Italian.

newly acquired Kingdom; in the second, they did not want to antagonize the hispanophile locals, especially the elites; in the third, they lingered on hoping they could manage to dispose of the island while still keeping the title of Kings by regaining Sicily.^[117] Such prudence was noted, when the King himself claimed that he was intentioned to ban neither Sardinian nor Spanish on two separate occasions, in 1726 and 1728.^[118] The fact that the new masters of Sardinia felt at loss as to how they could better deal with a cultural and linguistic environment they perceived as alien to the Mainland,^[119] where Italian had long been the official language, can be deduced from the study *Memoria dei mezzi che si propongono per introdurre l'uso della lingua italiana in questo Regno* ("Account of the proposed ways to introduce the Italian language to this Kingdom") commissioned in 1726 by the Piedmontese administration, to which the Jesuit Antonio Falletti from Barolo responded suggesting the *ignotam linguam per notam expōnere* ("to introduce an unknown language [Italian] through a known one [Spanish]") method as the best course of action for Italianization.^[120]

However, the Savoyard government eventually decided to directly impose Italian on Sardinia on July 25, 1760,^{[121][122][123][124]} because of the Savoyards' geopolitical need to draw the island away from the Spanish influence and culturally align Sardinia with the Italian peninsula,^[125] and especially Piedmont.^{[126][127][128][note 14][129]} In 1764, the order was extended to all sectors of public life.^{[130][131][132]} Spanish was thus replaced as the official language (even though it continued to be used in the parish registers and official deeds until 1828^[133]) and Sardinian was again marginalized, making way for the Italianization of the island.^{[134][135][131][19]} For the first time, in fact, even the wealthy and most powerful families of rural Sardinia, the *printipales*, started to perceive Sardinian as a handicap.^[130]

At the end of the 18th century, following the trail of the French revolution, a group of the Sardinian middle class planned to break away from the mainland ruling class and institute an independent Sardinian Republic under French protection; all over the island, a number of political pamphlets printed in Sardinian were illegally distributed, calling for a mass revolt against the Piedmontese rule and the barons' abuse. The most famous literary product born out of such political unrest was the poem *Su patriottu sardu a sos feudatarios*, noted as a testament of the French-inspired democratic and patriotic values, as well as Sardinia's situation under feudalism.^{[136][137]}

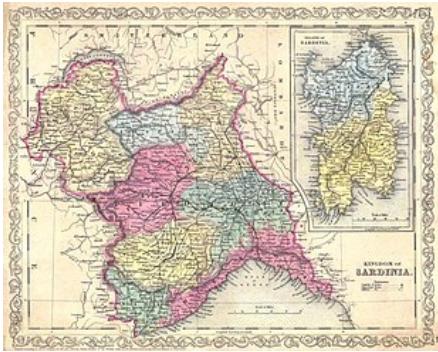
The first systematic study on the Sardinian language was written in 1782 by the philologist Matteo Madau, with the title of *Il ripulimento della lingua sarda lavorato sopra la sua antologia colle due matrici lingue, la greca e la latina*.^[138] The patriotic intention that motivated Madau was to trace the ideal path through which Sardinian could grow to be the island's proper national language;^{[139][140][141][142]} nevertheless, the Savoyard climate of repression on Sardinian culture would induce Matteo Madau to veil its radical proposals with some literary devices, and the author was eventually unable to ever translate them into reality.^[143] The first volume of comparative Sardinian dialectology was produced in 1786 by the Catalan Jesuit Andres Febres, known in Italy and Sardinia by the pseudonym of *Bonifacio d'Olmi*, who returned from Lima where he had first published a book of Mapuche grammar in 1764.^[144] After he moved to Cagliari, he became fascinated with the Sardinian language as well and conducted some research on three specific dialects; the aim of his work, entitled *Prima grammatica de' tre dialetti sardi*,^[145] was to <<write down the rules of the Sardinian language>> and spur the Sardinians to <<cherish the language of their Homeland, as well as Italian>>. The government in Turin, which had been monitoring Febres' activity, decided that his work would not be allowed to be published: Victor Amadeus III had supposedly not appreciated the fact that the book had a bilingual dedication to him in Italian and Sardinian, a mistake that his successors, while still echoing back to a general concept of "Sardinian ancestral homeland", would from then on avoid, and making exclusive use of Italian to produce their works.^[143] In the climate of monarchic restoration that followed Angioy's rebellion, other Sardinian intellectuals, all characterized by an attitude of general devotion to their island as well as proven loyalty to the House of Savoy, posed in fact the "question of the Sardinian language", while being careful enough to use only Italian as a language to get their point across. During the 19th century in particular, the Sardinian intellectuality found itself divided over the adherence to the Sardinian national values and the allegiance to the new Italian nationality.^[146] A few years after the major anti-Piedmontese revolt, in 1811, the priest Vincenzo Raimondo Porru published a timid essay of Sardinian grammar, which, however, referred expressively to the southern dialect (hence the title of *Saggio di grammatica del dialetto sardo meridionale*^[147]) and, out of prudence towards the king, was made with the declared intention of easing the acquisition of Italian among his fellow Sardinians, instead of protecting their language.^[148] The more ambitious work of the professor and senator Giovanni Spano, the *Ortografia sarda nationale* ("Sardinian National Orthography"),^[149] although it was officially meant for the same purpose as Porru's,^[note 15] attempted in reality to establish a unified Sardinian orthography based on Logudorese, just like Florentine had become the basis for Italian.^{[150][151]}

In contrast to the Mainland's cultural dynamics established between Italian and the various Romance dialects, in Sardinia the relationship between the Italian language - recently introduced by Savoy - and the native one had been perceived from the start by the locals, educated and uneducated alike, as a relationship (albeit unequal in terms of political power and prestige) between two very different languages, and not between a language and one of its dialects.^[152] The plurisecular Iberian period also contributed in making the Sardinians feel relatively detached from the Italian language and its cultural sphere, and the Spanish themselves, comprising both the Aragonese and Castilian ruling class, had already considered Sardinian a distinct language with respect to their own ones and Italian as well.^[152]

Extract from sa Vitta et sa Morte, et Passione de sanctu Gaviniu, Prothu et Januarui (A. Cano, ~1400)^[105]

O

Deus eternu, sempre omnipotente,
In s'aiudu meu ti piacat attender,
Et dami gratia de poder acabare
Su sanctu martiriu, in rima vulgare,
5. De sos sanctos martires tantu gloriosos
Et cavaleris de Cristus victoriosos,
Sanctu Gaviniu, Prothu e Januarui,
Contra su demoniu, nostru adversariu,
Forte defensores et bonos advocados,
10. Qui in su Paradisu sunt glorificados
De sa corona de sanctu martiriu.
Cussos sempre siant in nostru adiutoriu.
Amen.



The Kingdom of Sardinia in 1856.

The jurist Carlo Baudi di Vesme claimed that the suppression of Sardinian and the imposition of Italian was desirable in order to make the islanders "civilized Italians".^[note 16] The primary and tertiary education was thus offered exclusively through Italian, importing teachers from the Mainland to make up for the lack of Italian-speaking Sardinians,^[153] and Piedmontese cartographers replaced many Sardinian place names with Italian ones.^[131] The Italian education, being imparted in a language the Sardinians were not familiar with,^[note 17] spread Italian for the first time in history to Sardinian villages, marking the troubled transition to the new dominant language; the school environment, which employed Italian as the sole means of communication, grew to become a microcosm around the then-monolingual Sardinian villages.^[note 18] In 1811, the canon Salvatore Carboni published in Bologna the polemic book *Sos discursos sacros in limba sarda* ("Holy Discourses in Sardinian language"), wherein the author lamented over the fact that Sardinia, "*hoe provinzia italiana non podet tener sas lezze e sos attos pubblicos in sa propria limba*" ("Being an Italian province nowadays, [Sardinia] cannot have laws and public acts made in its own language"), and while claiming that "*sa limba sarda, totu chi non uffiziale, durat in su Populu Sardu cantu durat sa Sardigna*" ("the Sardinian language, however unofficial, will last as long as Sardinia among the Sardinians"), he also asked himself "*Proite mai nos hamus a dispreziare cun d'unu totale abbandonu sa limba sarda, antiga et nobile cantu s'italiana, sa franzesa et s'ispagnola?*" ("Why should we show neglect and contempt for Sardinian, which is a language as ancient and noble as Italian, French and Spanish?").^{[154][155]} Eventually, Sardinian came to be perceived as *sa limba de su fame / sa lingua de su famini*, literally translating into English as "the language of hunger" (i.e. the language of the poor), and Sardinian parents strongly supported the teaching of the new tongue to their children, since they saw it as the portal to escaping from a poverty-stricken, rural, isolated and underprivileged life.

In 1827, the historical legal code serving as the <<*consuetud de la nació sardesca*>> in the days of the Iberian rule, the Carta de Logu, was abolished and replaced by the more advanced Savoyard code of Charles Felix "Leggi civili e criminali del Regno di Sardegna", written in Italian.^{[156][157]} The Perfect Fusion with the Mainland States, enacted under the auspices of a «transplant, without any reserves and obstacles, [of] the culture and civilization of the Italian Mainland to Sardinia»,^[158] would result in the loss of the island's residual autonomy^{[159][156]} and marked the moment when «the language of the "Sardinian nation" lost its value as an instrument with which to ethnically identify a particular people and its culture, to be codified and cherished, and became instead one of the many regional dialects subordinated to the national language».^[160] Despite the long-term assimilation policy, the anthem of the Savoyard Kingdom of Sardinia would still be *S'hymnu sardu nationale* ("the Sardinian National Anthem"), also known as *Cunservet Deus su Re* ("God save the King"), before it was *de facto* replaced by the Italian *Marcia Reale* as well, in 1861.^[161] However, even when the island became part of the Kingdom of Italy under Victor Emmanuel II in 1861, Sardinia's distinct culture from the now unified Mainland made it an overall neglected province within the newly proclaimed unitary nation state.^[162]

During the mobilization for World War I, the Italian Army compelled all Sardinians to enlist as Italian subjects and established the Sassari Infantry Brigade on 1 March 1915 at Tempio Pausania and Sinnai. Unlike the other infantry brigades of Italy, Sassari's conscripts were only Sardinians (including many officers). It is currently the only unit in Italy with an anthem in a language other than Italian: *Dimonios* ("Devils"), written in 1994 by Luciano Sechi. Its title derives from *Rote Teufel* (German for "red devils"). However, compulsory military service played a role in language shift.

Eventually, under Fascism, Sardinia was made to align with the Italian national system,^[163] by means of cultural assimilation via the combined role of the school and the party system and repression of the local cultural expressions, including Sardinia's mask festivals^[164] and improvised poetry competitions,^{[165][166][167][168][169][170]} and a large number of Sardinian surnames were changed to sound more Italian. Following an argument between the Sardinian poet Antico Casula (also known as Montanaru) and the fascist journalist Gino Anchisi, who stated that <<once the region is moribund or dead, so will the dialect (*sic!*)>>, the latter managed to have Sardinian banned from the printing press, as well.^{[171][172]} Another famed poet from the island, Salvatore (Bore) Poddighe, fell into a severe depression and took his own life a few years after his masterwork (*Sa Mundana Cummedia*)^[173] had been seized by Cagliari's police commissioner.^[174] When the use of Sardinian in school was banned in 1934 as part of a nation-wide educational plan against the alloglot "dialects", the then Sardinian-speaking children were confronted with another means of communication that was supposed to be their own from then onwards.^[175] On a whole, this period saw the most aggressive cultural assimilation effort by the central government,^{[176][19]} which led to an even further sociolinguistic degradation of Sardinian.^[177] However, the Sardinian Anthem of the once Piedmontese Kingdom was a chance to use a regional language without penalty: as a royal tradition, it could not be forbidden. The philosopher Antonio Gramsci commented on the Sardinian linguistic question while writing a letter to his sister Teresina; Gramsci was aware of the long-term ramifications of language shift, and suggested Teresina to let her son acquire Sardinian with no restriction, because doing otherwise would result in "putting his imagination in a straitjacket" as well as him ending up eventually "learning two jargons, and no language at all".^{[178][179]}



A Sardinian family reading *L'Unione Sarda* ("The Sardinian Union"), daily newspaper in Italian language founded in 1889.

Present situation

After World War II, awareness around the Sardinian language and the danger of its slipping away did not seem to concern the Sardinian elites and entered the political spaces much later than in other European peripheries marked by the long-standing presence of ethno-linguistic minorities.^[180] Sardinian was in fact dismissed by the already Italianized middle class,^[177] as both the Sardinian language and culture were still being held responsible for the island's underdevelopment.^[159] The Sardinian ruling class, drawn to the Italian modernist stance on Sardinia's path to development, believed in fact that the latter had been held back by the islanders' "traditional practices", and that social and cultural progress could only be brought about through their rejection.^[181]

At the time of drafting of the statute in 1948, the legislator eventually decided to specify the "Sardinian specialty" as a single criterion for political autonomy just on the grounds of a couple of socio-economic issues devoid of considerations of a distinct cultural, historical and geographical identity,^{[182][183][184][185]} that were on the contrary looked down upon as a potential prelude to more autonomist or separatist claims.^[186] Eventually, the special statute of 1948 did not recognize any special geographical conditions about the region nor made any mention of a distinct cultural and linguistic element,^[187] preferring instead to concentrate on state-funded plans (baptised with the Italian name of *piani di rinascita*) for the heavy industrial



A bilingual sign in Villasor's town hall.

development of the island, as well as the military installations.^[188] Therefore, far from being a Statute grounded on the acknowledgment of a particular cultural identity like, for example, in South Tyrol, what emerged in Sardinia was an «autonomism solely based on economic considerations, because there was not either the will or the ability to devise a strong and culturally motivated autonomy, a "Sardinian specificity" that was not defined on the terms of social backwardness and economic deprivation».^[189] In the meantime, the emphasis on Italian-only assimilation policies continued, with historical sites and ordinary objects renamed in Italian (e.g. the various kinds of cheese, *zippole* instead of *tzipulas*, *carta da musica* instead of *carasau*, *formaggelle* instead of *pardulas / casadinas*, etc.).^{[190][191]} The Ministry of Public Education reportedly requested that the teachers willing to teach Sardinian be put under surveillance.^[191] The rejection of the indigenous language, along with a rigid model of Italian-language education,^[192] corporal punishment and shaming,^{[note 19][193]} led to poor schooling for Sardinians.^{[194][195]}

There have been campaigns, often expressed in the form of political demands from the late '60s onwards,^{[196][197]} to give Sardinian equal status with Italian as a means to promote cultural identity.^[198] One of the first demands was formulated in a resolution adopted by the University of Cagliari in 1971, calling upon the national and regional authorities to recognize the Sardinians as an ethno-linguistic minority and Sardinian as the island's co-official language.^[note 20] Critical acclaim in Sardinian cultural circles followed the patriotic poem *No sias iscianu*^[note 21] ("Don't be a slave") by Raimondo (*Remundu*) Piras some months before his death in 1977, urging bilingual education to reverse the ongoing trend of de-sardization.^[168] It was in the late 70s that a significant shift to Italian was first noted not only in the Campidanian plains, but even in some inner areas that had been previously considered Sardinian-speaking bastions, manifesting a parallel shift of the values upon which the ethnic and cultural identity of the Sardinians was traditionally grounded.^{[199][note 22]} From then onwards, the use of Sardinian would continue to recede because of the strongly negative view the Sardinian community developed toward it, assuming a self-belittling attitude which has been described as the emergence of a "minority complex" fairly typical of linguistic minorities.^[200]

Following tensions and claims of the Sardinian nationalist movement for concrete cultural and political autonomy, including the recognition of the Sardinians as an ethnic and linguistic minority, three separate bills were presented to the Regional Council in the '80s.^[41] A survey conducted by MAKNO in 1984 showed that three-fourth of the Sardinians had a positive attitude towards bilingual education (22% of the interviewees, especially in the Province of Nuoro and Oristano, wanted Sardinian to be compulsory in Sardinian schools, while 54.7% would prefer to see teaching in Sardinian as optional) and official bilingualism like in the Aosta Valley and South Tyrol (62.7% of the population were in favour, 25.9% said no and 11.4% were unsure).^[201] Such consensus remains relatively stable to this day; another survey, conducted in 2008, reported that more than half of the interviewees, 57.3%, were in favour of the introduction of Sardinian into schools alongside Italian.^[202]

In the 1990s, there had been a resurgence of Sardinian-language music, ranging from the more traditional genres (*cantu a tenore*, *cantu a chiterra*, *gosos* etc.) to rock (*Kenze Neke*, *Askra*, *Tzoku*, *Tazenda* etc.) and even hip hop and rap (*Dr. Drer e CRC Posse*, *Quilo*, *Sa Razza*, *Malam*, *Su Akru*, *Mehir*, *Stranos Elementos*, *Malos Cantores*, *Randagiu Sardu*, *Futta* etc.), and with artists who used the language as a means to promote the island and address its long-standing issues and the new challenges.^{[203][204][205][206]} A few films (like *Su Re*, *Bellas Mariposas*, *Treulababbu*, *Sonetaula* etc.) have also been dubbed in Sardinian,^[207] and some others (like *Metropolis*) were provided with subtitles in the language.^[208] The first scientific work in Sardinian (*Sa chistione mundiali de s'Energhia*), delving into the question of modern energy supplies, was written by Paolo Giuseppe Mura, Physics Professor at the University of Cagliari, in 1995.^[209]

One of the first laws approved by the Sardinian legislator with respect to the protection and promotion of the Sardinian language and culture was soon rejected by the Constitutional Court in 1994,^{[210][211]} it was not until 1997 that Sardinian was finally recognized by the regional law (n. 26 of 15 October 1997 "Promotion and enhancement of the culture and language of Sardinia") without there being any recourse from the Italian central government.^[2] Eventually, sustained activism made possible the formal recognition of twelve minority languages (Sardinian, Albanian, Catalan, German, Greek, Slovenian, Croatian, French, Franco-Provençal, Friulian, Ladin and Occitan) in the late 1990s by the framework law no. 482/1999 (https://it.wikisource.org/wiki/L._15_dicembre_1999,_n._482_-_Norme_in_materia_di_tutela_delle_minoranze_linguistiche_storiche),^[212] following Art. 6 of the Italian Constitution. While the first section of said law states that Italian is the official language of the Republic, a number of provisions are included in order to normalize the use of such languages and let them become part of the national fabric.^[213] However, Italy (along with France and Malta^[214]) has signed but never ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.^[215]

Furthermore, many people in Italy outside of Sardinia continue to regard Sardinian as an "Italian dialect",^[216] likewise some national school books have not stopped to squeeze the language into the Italian acceptance of *dialetto italiano* (Italian dialect).^[217] Sardinian is yet to be taught at school, with the exception of a few experimental occasions; furthermore, its use has not ceased to be disincentivized as antiquated or even indicative of a lack of education,^{[218][219]} leading many locals to associate it with negative feelings of shame, backwardness, and provincialism.^{[220][221]} Similar issues of identity have been observed in regard to the community's attitude toward what they positively perceive to be part of "modernity", generally associated with the Italian cultural sphere, as opposed to the Sardinian one, whose aspects have long been stigmatized as "primitive" and "barbarous" by the political and social institutions that ruled the island.^[222]

A number of other factors like a considerable immigration flow from mainland Italy, the interior rural exodus to urban areas, where Sardinian is spoken by a much lower percentage of the population,^[note 23] and the use of Italian as a prerequisite for jobs and social advancement actually hinder any policy set up to promote the language.^{[24][223][224]} Therefore, following the model proposed by a UNESCO panel of experts in 2003, Sardinian is classified by UNESCO as a "definitely endangered" language ("children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home"),^[225] on the way to become "severely endangered" ("the language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up")

Language use is far from stable;^[41] following the Expanded GIDS (*Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale*) model, Sardinian would position between 7 ("Shifting: the child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children")^[226] and 8a ("Moribund: the only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation"). While an estimated 68 percent of the islanders had in fact a good oral command of Sardinian, language ability among the children plummeted to less than 13 percent,^{[24][21][22][227]} some linguists, like Mauro Maxia, cite the



Bilingual No-smoking sign in Sardinian and Italian

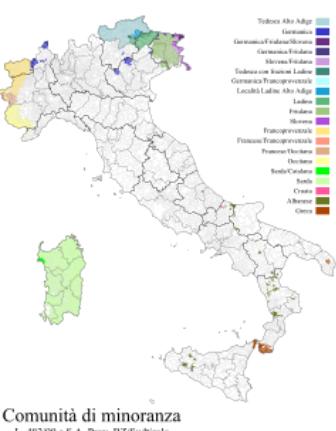


Bilingual Italian–Sardinian road sign in Siniscola

low number of Sardinian-speaking children as indicative of language decline, calling Sardinia "a case of linguistic suicide".^[23] According to the data published by ISTAT in 2006,^[228] 52.5% of the population in Sardinia speaks just Italian in the family environment, while 29.3% alternates Italian and Sardinian and only 16.6% uses Sardinian or other non-Italian languages; outside the social circle of family and friends, the numbers define Italian as the prevalent language (77.1%), while the usage of Sardinian and other languages drops to 5.2%. Today, most people who use Sardinian as part of day-to-day life reside mainly in the sparsely populated areas in the countryside, like the mountainous region of Barbagia.^{[229][230]}

A bill proposed by the cabinet of the former Italian Prime Minister Mario Monti would have further lowered the protection level of Sardinian,^[231] distinguishing between the so-called "national minorities", speaking languages protected by international agreements (German, Slovenian, French) and the "linguistic minorities" whose language is not spoken in any state other than Italy (all the other ethno-linguistic groups, including Sardinian). This bill, which was eventually implemented^[232] but later deemed unconstitutional by the Court,^[233] triggered a reaction on the island.^{[234][235][236][237]} Students expressed an interest in taking all (or part) of their exit examinations in Sardinian.^{[238][239][240][241][242][243][244][245][246][247][248]} In response to a 2013 Italian initiative to remove bilingual signs on the island, a group of Sardinians began a virtual campaign on Google Maps to replace Italian place names with the original Sardinian names. After about one month, Google changed the place names back to Italian.^{[249][250][251]}

After a signature campaign,^[252] it has been made possible to change the language setting on Facebook from any language to Sardinian.^{[253][254][255][256]} It is also possible to switch to Sardinian even in Telegram^{[257][258]} and a couple of other apps, like F-Droid, Diaspora, OsmAnd, NotePad++, Swiftkey, Stellarium,^[259] Skype,^[260] VLC media player for Android, Linux Mint Debina Edition 2 "Betsy", etc. The DuckDuckGo search engine is available in Sardinian as well. In 2016, the first automatic translation software from Italian to Sardinian was developed.^[261] In 2015, all the political parties in the Sardinian regional council had reached an agreement involving a series of amendments to the old 1997 law in order to be able to introduce the optional teaching of the language in Sardinia's schools.^{[262][263][264]} The Unified Text on the Discipline of the Regional linguistic policy^[3] had been eventually approved on June 27, 2018, with the aim of setting in motion a path towards bilingual administration, contributions to bilingual mass media, publishing, IT schools and websites; it also allowed for the foundation of a Sardinian board (Consulta de su Sardu) with thirty experts that would propose a linguistic standard based on the main historical varieties, and would also have advisory duties towards the Regional body.^{[265][266]} Although there is still not an option to teach Sardinian on the island itself, let alone in Italy, some language courses are instead sometimes available in Germany (Universities of Stuttgart, Munich, Tübingen, Mannheim^[267] etc.), Spain (University of Girona),^[268] Iceland^[269] and Czech Republic (Brno university).^{[270][271]} Shigeaki Sugeta also taught Sardinian to his students of Romance languages at the Waseda University in Tokyo, Japan.^{[272][273][274][275]}



The Sardinian-speaking community among the other minority language groups officially recognized by Italy.^[276]

expectations".^{[293][294][295][296][297]}

A solution to the Sardinian question being unlikely to be found anytime soon,^[41] the language has become highly endangered:^[279] even though the endogamy rate among group members seems to be very high,^[24] the late recognition as a minority language, as well as the gradual but pervasive Italianization promoted by the education system, the administration system and the media, followed by the intergenerational language replacement, made it so that the vitality of Sardinian has been heavily compromised.^[298] The Euromosaic project, which has conducted a research study on the current situation of the ethno-linguistic minorities across Europe under the auspices of the European Commission, concludes their report on Sardinian as follows:

This would appear to be yet another minority language group under threat. The agencies of production and reproduction are not serving the role they did a generation ago. The education system plays no role whatsoever in supporting the language and its production and reproduction. The language has no prestige and is used in work only as a natural as opposed to a systematic process. It seems to be a language relegated to a highly localised function of interaction between friends and relatives. Its institutional base is extremely weak and declining. Yet there is concern among its speakers who have an emotive link to the language and its relationship to Sardinian identity.



Church of the Pater Noster
(Jerusalem, Israel), Lord's Prayer plaque in Sardinian

At present, the Sardinian-speaking community is the least protected one in Italy, despite being the largest minority language group officially recognized by the state.^{[42][17]} In fact the language, which is receding in all domains of use, is still not given access to any field of public life,^[24] such as education (Italian–Sardinian bilingualism is still frowned upon,^{[23][240][277][278]} while the local universities do not play pretty much any role whatsoever in supporting the language^{[279][280][281]}), politics (with the exception of some nationalist groups^[282]), justice, administrative authorities and public services, media,^{[283][284][285]} and cultural,^[286] ecclesiastical,^{[287][288]} economic and social activities, as well as facilities. According to a 2017 report on the digital language diversity in Europe, Sardinian appears to be particularly vital on social media as part of many people's everyday life for private use, but such vitality does not still translate into a strong and wide availability of Internet media for the language.^[289] In 2017, a 60-hour Sardinian language course has been introduced for the first time in Sardinia and Italy at the University of Cagliari, although such a course was already available in other universities abroad.^[290]

In 2015, the Council of Europe commented on the status of national minorities in Italy, noting the à la carte approach of the Italian state towards them with the exception of the German, French and Slovenian languages, where Italy has applied full bilingualism due to international agreements. Despite the formal recognition from the Italian state, Italy does not in fact collect any information on the ethnic and linguistic composition of the population, apart from South Tyrol.^[291] There is also virtually no print and broadcasting media exposure in politically or numerically weaker minorities like Sardinian. Moreover, the resources allocated to cultural projects like bilingual education, which lacks a consistent approach and offers no guarantee of continuity throughout the years,^[292] are largely insufficient to meet "even the most basic



Bilingual road signs in Pula.

— Sardinian language use survey, Euromosaic report^[24]

With cultural assimilation having already occurred,^{[299][300]} most of the younger generation of islanders, although they do understand some basic Sardinian, is now in fact Italian monolingual and monocultural, being able to speak not Sardinian anymore, but a Sardinian-influenced variety of Italian^{[301][41][302][303]} which is often nicknamed *italiànu porcheddinu* (literally "swinish Italian") by native Sardinian speakers.^[304]

The sociolinguistic subordination of Sardinian to Italian has resulted in the gradual degeneration of the Sardinian language into an Italian patois under the label of regional Italian. This new linguistic code that is emerging from the interference between Italian and Sardinian is very common among the less privileged cultural and social classes.

— Sardinian in Italy, Euromosaic report^[305]

Whatever the fate of the Sardinian language might be, it shall therefore constitute the substratum of the one prevailing now, Italian, in a number of linguistic components specific to the island.^[306]

Phonology

All dialects of Sardinian have phonetic features that are relatively archaic compared to other Romance languages. The degree of archaism varies, with the dialect spoken in the Province of Nuoro being considered the most conservative. Medieval evidence indicates that the language spoken in Sardinia and Corsica at the time was similar to modern Nuorese Sardinian; while Corsica underwent a process of Tuscanization that rendered the Corsican dialects akin to Tuscan, the Sardinian dialects are thought to have slowly evolved through some Catalan, Spanish and later Italian influences.

The examples listed below are from the Logudorese dialect:

- Latin vowels lost length contrast, but have all preserved their original sound; in particular, short /i/ and /u/, which did not change in Sardinian, became instead /e/ and /o/, respectively, in Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, where Latin contrastive length resulted in contrastive quality (for example, *siccus* > *sicu* "dry"; Italian *secco*, Spanish and Portuguese *seco*).
- Preservation of the plosive sounds /k/ and /g/ before front vowels /e/ and /i/ in many words; for example, *centum* > *chentu* "hundred"; *decem* > *dèche* "ten" and *gener* > *ghèneru* "son-in-law" (Italian *cento*, *dieci*, *genero* with /tʃ/ and /dʒ/).
- Absence of diphthongizations found in other Romance languages; for example, *potest* > *podest* "(s)he can" (Italian *può*, Spanish *puede*, Romanian *poate*); *bonus* > *bónu* "good" (Italian *buono*, Spanish *bueno*).

Sardinian contains the following phonetic innovations:

- Change of the Latin -ll- into a retroflex [ɖ], shared with Sicilian and Southern Corsican; for example, *corallus* > *coraddu* "coral" and *villa* > *bidda* "village, town".
- Similar changes in the consonant clusters -ld- and -nd-: *solidus* > [ˈsoddu] "money", *abundantia* > [abbunˈdantsi.a] "abundance".
- Evolution of -pl-, -fl- and -cl- into -pr-, -fr- and -cr-, as in Portuguese and Galician; for example, *platea* > *pratza* "public square" (Portuguese *praça*, Galician *praza*; but Italian *piazza*), *fluxus* > *frúsciu* "flabby" (Portuguese and Galician *frouxo*) and *ecclesia* > *crezia* "church" (Portuguese *igreja*, Galician *igrexa*; but Italian *chiesa*).
- Metathesis as in *abbratzare* > *abbaltzare* "to hug, to embrace". In word-initial position, it can produce marked syllable onsets such as [sr], [mr], [tʃr], [dʒr], e.g. *ianuarius* > *jrennazu* (Capidanese) "January".^[307]
- Vowel prothesis before an initial r in Campidanese, similar to Basque and Gascon: *rêx* > (g)urréi/re "king" (Basque *errege*); *rota* > *arroda* "wheel" (Gascon *arròda*, Basque *errota*); *rîvus* > Sardinian and Gascon *arriú* "river".^[307]
- Vowel prothesis in Logudorese before an initial s followed by consonant, as in the Western Romance languages: *scriptum* > *iscritu* "written" (Spanish *escrito*, French *écrit*), *stêlla* > *isteddu* "star" (Spanish *estrella*, French *étoile*)
- Except for the Nuorese dialect, intervocalic Latin single voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, /k/ became voiced approximant consonants. Single voiced plosives /b/, /d/, /g/ were lost: *caritatem* (acc.) > *caridàde* [karí 'ðaðe]/[karí 'dade] (Italian *carità*), *locus* > *lógu* [ˈloɣu]/[ˈlogu] (Italian *luogo*). This also applies across word boundaries: *porcu* "pig", but *su borcu* "the pig"; *tempus* ['tempuzu] "time", but *su tempus* [su 'ðempuzu] "the time"; *domu* "house", but *sa 'omu* "the house". Such sound changes have become grammaticalised, making Sardinian an initial mutating language with similarities in this to the Insular Celtic languages.

Although the latter two features are partly similar to Spanish and Portuguese, the others indicate a deeper relationship between ancient Sardinia and the Iberian world; the retroflex *d*, *l* and *r* are found in southern Italy, Tuscany and Asturias, and were probably involved in the palatalization process of the Latin clusters -ll-, -pl-, -cl- (-ll- > Spanish and Catalan -ll- /ʎ/, Gascon -th- /tʃ/; -cl- > Galician-Portuguese -ch- /tʃ/, Italian -chi- /kj/), which as seen above had a different development in Sardinian.

Vowels

Vowels are /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/, without length differentiation. Metaphony occurs with /e/ and /o/, which in particular tend to be open-mid [ɛ] and [ɔ] when they are stressed and the following syllable does not contain /i/ or u or a palatal.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close-mid	e		o
Open	a		

Some varieties of Sardinian have vowel phonemes /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ separate from /e/ and /o/.

There are also nasal vowels [ã], [ɛ], [ɪ], [ð], [ü] in some varieties, and even nasal diphthongs when an intervocalic *n* is deleted like in *beni* [bẽ ð~bẽ ï].

Consonants

Sardinian has the following consonants:^{[308][309]}

	<u>Bilabial</u>	<u>Labio-dental</u>	<u>Dental</u>	<u>Alveolar</u>	<u>Post-alveolar</u>	<u>Retroflex</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>
Nasal	m			n			(ŋ)	
Plosive	p b		t d			(d)		k g
Affricate				ts dz	tʃ dʒ			
Fricative	(β)	f v	θ (ð)	s z	ʃ ʒ			(χ)
Tap				(ɾ)				
Trill				r				
Lateral				l				
Approximant	(w)						j	

There are three series of plosives or corresponding approximants:

- Voiceless stops derive from their Latin counterparts in composition after another stop. They are reinforced (double) in initial position, but this reinforcement is not written because it does not produce a different phoneme.
- Double voiced stops (after another consonant) derive from their Latin equivalents in composition after another stop.
- Weak voiced "stops" (actually approximants), sometimes transcribed ⟨β ð χ⟩ (/β ð χ/ after vowels, as in Spanish), derive from single Latin stops (voiced or voiceless).
- [r] and [n] alternate in Campidanese Sardinian but not Nuorese^[310]

In Cagliari and neighboring dialects, the soft /d/ has become [ɾ] due to rhotacism: *digitus* > *didu/diru* "finger".

The double-voiced retroflex stop /ɖɖ/ (usually written -dd-) derives from the former retroflex lateral approximant /ɺɺ/.

Fricatives

- The labiodentals /f/ (sometimes pronounced [ff] or [v] in initial position) and /v/.
- Latin initial *v* becomes *b* (*vipera* > *bíbera* "viper").
 - In central Sardinia the sound /f/ disappears, akin to the /f/ > /h/ change in Gascon and Old Spanish.
- [θ], written -th- (as in the English thing), is a restricted dialectal variety of the phoneme /ts/.
- /s/
- /ss/, from assimilation; for example, *ipsa* > *íssa*.
- /ʃ/ pronounced [ʃ] at the beginning of a word, otherwise [ʃʃ], is written -sc(i/e)-; its voiced equivalent, /ʒ/, is often spelled with the letter *x*.

Affricates

- /ts/ (or [tts]), a denti-alveolar affricate consonant written -tz-, corresponds to Italian -z- or -ci-.
- /dʒ/ (or [ddz]), written -z-, corresponds to Italian -gi-- or -ggi-.
- /tʃ/ is written -c(i/e)- or -ç- (also *ts* in loanwords).
- /ʈʈʃ/
- /dʒ/ is written -g(e/i)- or -j-.

Nasals

- /m/, /mm/
- /n/, /nn/
- /ɲɲ/, written -gn^[311] or -nnny-/nni^[312] (the palatal nasal for some speakers or dialects, although for most the pronunciation is [n:j]).

Liquids

- /l/ is double [ll] initially.

Some permutations of *l* and *r* are seen: in most dialects a preconsonantal *l* (for example, -lt- or -lc-) becomes *r*: Latin *altum* > *artu* "high/tall", *marralzu/marrarzu* "rock".

In palatal context, Latin *l* changed into [dz], [ts], [ldz], [ll] or [dʒ], rather than the /ʎ/ of Italian: *achizare* (Italian *accigliare*), **volia* > *bòlla/bòlza/bòza* "wish, longing" (Italian *voglia*), *folia* > *fogia/folla/foza* "leaf" (Italian *foglia*), *filia* > *filla/fidza/fiza* "daughter" (Italian *figlia*).

Rhotics

- Underlying rhotics become an alveolar fricative before voiceless stops^[310]
- Seen in /tɾəs/ 'three', /battɔr/ 'four'
- Word-final /s/ and /r/ surfaces as a partially voiced [z] and a tap respectively before a vowel
- Word-final /s/ and /r/ neutralizes to [s] when a voiceless obstruent follows

Grammar

Some distinctive features typical of Sardinian are:

- The plural marker is -s (from the Latin accusative plural), as in Western Romance languages like French, Occitan, Catalan, Spanish, Portuguese and Galician: *sardu*, *sardus* "Sardinian"; *pudda*, *puddas* "hen"; *margiane*, *margianes* "fox". In Italo-Dalmatian languages like Italian, or Eastern Romance languages like Romanian, the plural ends with -i, -e or -a.
- The definite article derives from the Latin *ipse*: *su*, *sa*, plural *sos*, *sas* (Logudorese) and *is* (Campidanese). At present, such articles are only common in Balearic Catalan and were once used in Gascon as well, whilst all the other Romance languages make use of forms derived from *ille*.
- A periphrastic construction of "have to" (late Latin *habere ad*) is used for the future: *ap'a istàre < apo a istàre* "I will stay", Vulgar Latin '*habeo ad stare*' (as in the Portuguese *hei de estar*, but here as periphrasis for *estarei*, or colloquial Romanian *am să stau/o să stau*). All the other Romance languages have realisations of the alternative Vulgar Latin '*stare habeo*', Italian "*starò*", Spanish "*estaré*", Portuguese "*estarei*".
- For prohibitions, a negative form of the subjunctive is used: *no bengias!*, "don't come!" (compare Spanish *no vengas* and Portuguese *não venhas*, classified as part of the affirmative imperative mood). Italian uses the infinitive (*non venire*) instead.
- A common occurrence of a left-dislocated construction: *cussa cantone apo cantadu* ("That song I have sung": that is, "I've sung that song").
 - In yes/no questions, fronting of a constituent (especially a predicative element) is required, though it is not specifically a question-formation process: *Cumprendiu m'as?* ("Understood me you have", that is, "Have you understood me?"), *Mandicatu at?* ("Eaten he/she has", that is "Has he/she eaten?"), *Fattu l'at* ("Done he/she has", that is "He/She's done it"), etc.
- Interrogative phrases might be constructed like echo questions, with the interrogative marker remaining in underlying position: *Sunt lòmpios cando?* ("They arrived when?", that is, "when did they arrive?"), *Juanne at pigadu olias cun chie?* ("John has picked olives with whom?"), etc.
- Impersonal sentence constructions are commonly used to replace the passive voice, which is limited to the formal register: *A Juanni ddu ant mortu* rather than *Juanni est istadu mortu*.
- The use of *non de* + noun: *non de abba, abbardente est* ("not of water brandy it+is": that is, "It is not water, but brandy."); *non de frades, parent inimigos* ("Not of brothers, they seem enemies": that is, "Far from being brothers, they are like enemies").
- The use of *ca* (from *quia*) or *chi* as subordinate conjunctions: *Ja nau ti l'apo ca est issa sa mere* ("Already told I have you that is she the boss", that is "I've already told you that it's her the boss").
- Existential uses of *àer* / *ài* ("to have") and *èsser* / *èssi* ("to be"): *B'at prus de chentu persones inoghe!* ("There is over a hundred people in here!"), *Nci funt is pratus in mesa* ("There are the plates on the table").
- *Ite* ("What") + adjective + *chi*: *Ite bellu chi ses!* ("You are so beautiful!").
- Nominal syntagmas without having a head: *Cussu ditzionario de gregu est prus mannu de su de Efis* ("That Greek dictionary is bigger than Efisio's"), *Cudda machina est prus manna de sa de Juanne* ("That car is bigger than John's").
- Extraposition of the lexical head: *Imprestami su tou de ditzionario* ("Please lend me your dictionary").
- *Ancu* + subjunctive as a way to express a (malevolent) wish on someone: *Ancu ti falet unu lampu!* ("May you be struck by lightning!").
- Prepositional accusative: *Apo bidu a Maria* ("I've seen Mary").
- Insertion of the affirmative particle *ja* / *gai*: *Ja m'apo corcau* ("I did go to bed").
 - Use of the same particle to express antiphrastic formulas: *Jai ses totu istudiati, tue!* ("You're so well educated!", that is, "You are so ignorant and full of yourself!").
- Reflexive use of intransitive verbs: *Tziu Pascale si nch'est mortu*^[note 24] *eris sero* ("Uncle Pascal passed away yesterday"), *Mi nch'apo dormiu pro una parica de oras* ("I've slept for a couple of hours").
- Use of *àer* in reflexive sentences: *Si at fertu a s'anca traballende* ("He/She injured himself/herself while working").
- Combination of the perfective and progressive verb aspect: *Est istadu traballende totu sa die* ("He/She has been working all day").
- Continuous and progressive aspect of the verb, which is meant to indicate an effective situation rather than typical or habitual: *Non ti so comprendende* ("I don't understand you").
- Relative lack of adverbs: with the exception of some localized words like the Nuorese *mescamente* ("especially"), as well as some recent loanwords from Italian, all the Sardinian dialects have a number of ways with which to express the meaning conferred to the adverbs by the other Romance languages (e.g. *Luchía currit prus a lestru / acoitendi de María*, "Lucy runs faster than Mary").

Vocabulary

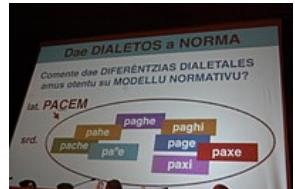
English	Sardinian	Latin	Corsican	Italian	Spanish	Catalan	French	Portuguese	Romanian
key	crael-i	clave(m)	chjave/chjavi	chiave	llave	clau	clé	chave	cheie
night	notel-i	nocte(m)	notte/notti	notte	noche	nit	nuit	noite	noapte
to sing	cantarel-ai	cantare	cantà	cantare	cantar	cantar	chanter	cantar	cânta
goat	cabra/craba	capra(m)	capra	capra	cabra	cabra	chèvre	cabra	capră
language	limba/lingua	lingua(m)	lingua/linga	lingua	lengua	llengua	langue	língua	limbă
square (plaza)	pratza	platea(m)	piazza	piazza	plaza	plaça	place	praça	piată
bridge	pontel-i	ponte(m)	ponte/ponti	ponte	puente	pont	pont	ponte	pod (punte)
church	crèisia/ecclesia	ecclesia(m)	ghjesgia	chiesa	iglesia	església	église	igreja	biserică
hospital	ispidale/spidali	hospitale(m)	spedale/uspidali	ospedale	hospital	hospital	hôpital	hospital	spital
cheese	casu	caseu(m) Vulgar Latin: formaticu(m)	casgiu	formaggio/cacio	queso	formatge	fromage	queijo	brânză/caş

Varieties

Historically, the Sardinians have always been quite a small population scattered across isolated cantons, sharing similar demographic patterns with Corsica; as a result, Sardinian developed a broad spectrum of dialects over the time. Starting from Francesco Cetti's description in the 18th century,^{[313][314]} Sardinian has been presented as a pluricentric language, being traditionally subdivided into two varieties spoken by roughly half of the entire community: the dialects spoken in North-Central Sardinia, centered on the orthography known as Logudorese (*su sardu logudoresu*), and the dialects spoken in Central Southern Sardinia, centered on another orthography called Campidanese (*su sardu campidanесu*). All the Sardinian dialects differ primarily in phonetics, which does not hamper intelligibility;^{[315][316][317]} the view of there being a dialectal boundary separating the Campidanese and Logudorese varieties has been in fact subjected to more recent research, that shows a fluid linguistic continuum from the Northern to the Southern ends of the island.^{[318][319][320][321]} The dualist perception of the Sardinian dialects, rather than pointing to an actual isogloss, is in fact the result of a psychological adherence to the way Sardinia was administratively subdivided into a *Caput Logudori* (*Cabu de Susu*) and a *Caput Calaris* (*Cabu de Jossu*) by the Spanish.^[322]

On the other hand, the Logudorese and Campidanese dialects have been estimated in another research to have 88% of matches in 110-item wordlist, similarly to the 85-88% number of matches between Provençal Occitan and the Catalan dialects,^[323] which by some standards is usually (even though arbitrarily) considered characteristic for two different, albeit very closely related, languages.^[324] ISO 639 counts four Sardinian languages (Campidanese, Gallurese, Logudorese and Sassarese), each with its own language code.

The dialects centered on the Logudorese model are generally considered more conservative, with the Nuorese subdialect (*su sardu nugoresu*) being the most conservative of all. They have all retained the classical Latin pronunciation of the stop velars (*kena* versus *cena*, "supper"),^[325] the front middle vowels (compare Campidanese *iotaicism*, probably from Byzantine Greek)^[326] and assimilation of close-mid vowels (*cane* versus *cani*, "dog" and *gattos* versus *gattus*, "cats"). Labio-velars become plain labials (*limba* versus *lingua*, "language" and *abba* versus *acua*, "water").^[327] *I* is prosthesisized before consonant clusters beginning in *s* (*iscala* versus Campidanese *scala*, "stairway" and *iscola* versus *scola*, "school"). An east-west strip of villages in central Sardinia speaks a transitional group of dialects (*su sardu de mesania*). Examples include *is limbas* (the languages) and *is abbas* (the waters). The dialects centered on the Campidanese model, spreading from Cagliari (once the metropolis of the Roman province), show relatively more influences from Carthage, Rome, Constantinople and Late Latin. Examples include *is fruminis* (the rivers) and *is domus* (the houses).



The word for "peace" in all the varieties of Sardinian.



Corso-Sardinian (orange and yellow) with respect to Sardinian proper (green).

Standardization

Sardinian has already been a standardized language since the Middle Ages, even if the process led to the emergence of the above-mentioned models of Logudorese and Campidanese. However, some attempts have been made to introduce a single writing system for administrative purposes over the recent decades, but they have not been generally acknowledged by native speakers.^{[331][332][31]}

The Regional Council Deliberations no. 52/105 of 28 December 1999 and n. 59/117 of 29 December 1998 appointed the Committee members with the goal of investigating a single orthographic form and devise a project of linguistic unification. The people appointed for the task were Eduardo Blasco Ferrer, Roberto Bolognesi, Diego Salvatore Corraina, Ignazio Delogu, Antonietta Dettori, Giulio Paulis, Massimo Pittau, Tonino Rubattu, Leonardo Sole, Heinz Jürgen Wolf, and Matteo Porru acting as the Committee's secretary. The output of the Committee was the "Limba Sarda Unificada" (LSU, "Unified Sardinian Language"). Its rules were published in 2001 by the Autonomous Region of Sardinia,^[333] but were met with some criticism about their overall focus on the more conservative varieties, and was eventually not adopted by the regional Council.

The Regional Council Deliberation no. 20/15 of 9 May 2005 thus appointed a new Committee composed of Giulio Angioni, Roberto Bolognesi, Manlio Brigaglia, Michel Contini, Diego Corraine, Giovanni Lupinu, Anna Oppo, Giulio Paulis, Maria Teresa Pinna Catte and Mario Puddu. Their job involved a program of measures for the protection and promotion of the Sardinian language, by means of a guide to be used by the regional administration.^[334] The Committee's output, called "Limba Sarda Comuna" (LSC, "Common Sardinian Language"), was experimentally adopted by the Sardinian regional authority with the Regional Council Deliberation no. 16/14 of 18 April 2006.^{[335][336]} The resolution does not aim to impose the guide and further notes that it is "open to integrations" and that "all solutions are of equal linguistic value". This work does not refer to morphology and syntax, which is already fairly homogeneous,^[337] and concerns itself primarily with spelling.

Sample of text

English	Logudorese Sardinian	Campidanese Sardinian	LSC (Sardinian Written Standard)	Latin	Italian
Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. thy kingdom come, thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.	Babbu nostru chi ses in chelu, Santificadu siat su nomine tou. Benzat a nois su rennu tou, Siat fatta sa boluntade tua, comente in chelu gai in terra. Dona nos oe su pane nostru de donzi die, Et perdona nos sos peccados nostros, Comente nois perdonamus a sos depidores nostros. Et no nos lesses ruer in tentazione, Et libera nos dae male.	Babbu nostu chi ses in celu, Santificau siat su nomini tuu. Bengiat a nosus su Bèngiat a nois su regnu tuu, Siat fatta sa boluntadi tua, comenti in celu aici in comente in chelu gasi terra. Donasi oi su pani nostru de dogna dii, Et perdonasi is E peccaus nostus, Comenti nosus perdonaus a is perdonamus a is depidoris nostus. Et no si lessis arrui in E no nos lasses tentatzioni, Et liberasi de mali.	Babbu nostru chi ses in chelu, Santificadu siat su nomine tuo. Bengiat a nosus su Bèngiat a nois su regnu tuu, Siat fatta sa boluntadi tua, comenti in celu aici in comente in chelu gasi terra. Pater noster qui es in celis, sanctificetur nomen tuum. adveniat regnum sicut in caelo et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie, et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo.	Pater noster qui es in celis, sanctificetur nomen tuum. adveniat regnum sicut in caelo et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie, et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo.	Padre Nostro, che sei nei cieli, Sia santificato il tuo nome. Venga il tuo regno, Sia fatta la tua volontà, Come in cielo, così in terra. Dacci oggi il nostro pane quotidiano, E rimetti a noi i nostri debiti Come noi li rimettiamo ai nostri debitori. E non ci indurre in tentazione, Ma liberaci dal male.

See also

- [Sardinia](#)
- [Sardinians](#)
- [Help:IPA/Sardinian](#)
- [Paleo-Sardinian language](#)
- [Southern Romance](#)
- Traditional writing forms of Sardinian: [Logudorese](#), [Campidanese](#)
- Non-Sardinian dialects spoken on Sardinia: [Sassarese](#), [Gallurese](#), [Algherese](#), [Tabarchino](#)

Notes

1. It is to be noted that Wagner's academic research took place in 1951; however, it took another forty years for Sardinian to be politically recognized, at least formally, as one of Italy's twelve [minority languages](#) by Law no.482/99.
2. Original version (in [Italian](#)): *Sorge ora la questione se il sardo si deve considerare come un dialetto o come una lingua. È evidente che esso è, politicamente, uno dei tanti dialetti dell'Italia, come lo è anche, p. es., il serbo-croato o l'albanese parlato in vari paesi della Calabria e della Sicilia. Ma dal punto di vista linguistico la questione assume un altro aspetto. Non si può dire che il sardo abbia una stretta parentela con alcun dialetto dell'italiano continentale; è un parlare romanzo arcaico e con proprie spiccate caratteristiche, che si rivelano in un vocabolario molto originale e in una morfologia e sintassi assai differenti da quelle dei dialetti italiani.*
3. As [Ludovico Antonio Muratori](#) noted, <<*Potissimum vero ad usurpandum in scriptis Italicum idioma gentem nostram fuisse adductam puto finitimarum exemplo, Provincialium, Corsorum atque Sardorum>> ("In reality, I believe that our people [Italians] have been induced to employ the Italian language for writing by following the example of our neighbours, the Provençals, the Corsicans and the Sardinians") and <<*Sardorum quoque et Corsorum exemplum memoravi Vulgari sua Lingua utentium, utpote qui Italisi preivisse in hoc eodem studio videntur>> ("Moreover, I made reference to the example of the Sardinians and the Corsicans, who used their own vulgar language, as being those who preceded the Italians in such regard"). [Antonio, Ludovico Antonio \(1739\). Antiquitates Italicae Moedii Evi, Mediolani](#), t. 2, col.1049**
4. In nomine Domini amen. Ego iudice Mariano de Lacon fazo ista carta ad onore de omnes homines de Pisas pro xu toloneu ci mi pecterunt: e ego donolislu pro ca lis so ego amicu caru e itsos a mimi; ci nullu imperatore ci lu aet potestare istu locu de non (n)apat comiatu de leuarelis toloneu in placitu: de non occidere pisani ingratiss: e ccausa ipsoro ci lis aem leuare ingratis, de facerlis iustitia imperatore ci nce aet exere intu locu ...
5. *E imper(a)tor(e) ki l ati kastikari ista delegantzia e fagere kantu narat ista carta siat benedittu ...*

6. In nomine de Pater et Filiu et Sanctu Ispiritu. Ego iudigi Salusi de Lacunu cun muiere mea donna (Ad)elasia, uoluntate de Donnu Deu potestando parte de KKaraklis, assolbu llu Arresmundai, priori de sanctu Saturru, a fagiri si carta in co bolit. Et ego Arresmundai, l(eba)nd(u) ass(o)ltura daba (su) donnu miu iudegi Salusi de Lacunu, ki mi illu castigit Donnu Deu balaus (a)nnus rt bonus et a issi et a (muiere) sua, fazzu mi carta pro kertu ki fegi cun isus de Maara pro su saltu ubi si (...) jari zizimi (...) Maara, ki est de sanctu Saturru. Intrei in kertu cun isus de Maara ca mi machelaa(nt) in issu saltu miu (et campa)niarunt si megù, c'aea cun istimonius bonus ki furunt armadus a iurari, pro cantu kertàà cun, ca fuit totu de sanctu Sat(ur)ru su saltu. Et derunt mi in issu canpaniu daa petra de mama et filia derectu a ssu runcu terra de Gosantini de Baniu et derectu a bruncu d'argillas e derectu a piskina d'arenas e leuat cabizali derectu a sa bia de carru de su mudeglu et clonpit a su cabizali de uentu dextru de ssa doméstia de donnigellu Cumityet leuet tuduy su cabizali et essit a ssas zinnigas de moori de silba, lassandu a manca serriu et clonpit deretu a ssu pizariu de sellas, ubi posirüs sa dii su tremini et leuat sa bia maiori de genna (de sa) terra al(ba) et lebat su moori (...) a sa terra de sanctu Saturru, lassandu lla issa a manca et lebat su moori lassandu a (manca) sas cortis d'orinias de (...) si. Et apirus cummentu in su campaniu, ki fegir(us), d'arari issus sas terras ipsoru ki sunt in su saltu miu et (ll)u castiari s(u) saltu et issus hominis mius de Sinnay arari sas terras mias et issas terras issoru ki sunt in saltu de ssus et issus castiari su saltu(u) i(ssoru). Custu fegirus plagendu mi a mimi et a issus homi(nis) mius de Sinnay et de totu billa de Maara. Istimonius ki furunt a ssegari su saltu de pari (et) a poniri sus treminis, donnu Cumita de Lacun, ki fut curatori de Canpitau, Cumita d'Orrù (...) du, A. Sufreri et Iohanni de Serra, filiu de su curatori, Petru Soriga et Gosantini Toccu Mullina, M(...) gi Calcaniu de Pirri, C. de Solanas, C. Pullu de Dergei, Iorgi Cabra de Kerarius, Iorgi Sartoris, Laurenz(...) ius, G. Toccu de Kerarius et P. Marzu de Quartu iossu et prebiteru Albuki de Kibullas et P. de Zippari et M. Gregu, M. de Sogus de Palma et G. Corsu de sancta Ilia et A. Carena, G. Artea de Palma et Oliueri de Kkarda (...) pisani et issu gonpanioni. Et sunt istimonius de logu Arzzoccu de Maroni et Gonnari de Laco(n) mancosu et Trogotori Dezzori de Dolia. Et est facta custa carta abendu si lla iudegi a manu sua sa curatoria de Canpitau pro logu salbadori (et) ki ll'(aet) deuertere, apat anathema (daba) Pater et Filiu et Sanctu Ispiritu, daba XII Apostolos et IIII Euangelistas, XVI Prophetas, XXIV Seniores, CCC(XVIII) Sanctus Patris et sorti apat cum Iuda in ifernum inferiori. Siat et F. I. A. T.
7. Ego Benedictus operaius de Santa Maria de Pisas Ki la fatho custa carta cum voluntate di Domino e de Santa Maria e de Santa Simplici e de indice Barusone de Gallul e de sa muliere donna Elene de Laccu Reina appit kertu piscipu Bernardu de Kivita, cum Iovanne operariu e mecum e cum Previtero Monte Magno Kercate nucus pro Santa Maria de vignolas ... et pro sa doma de VillaAlba e de Gisalle cum omnia pertinentia is soro essende facta custa campania cun sii Piscipu a boluntate de pare torraremus su Piscipu sa domo de Gisalle pro omnia sua de sos clericos suos, e issa domo de Villa Alba, pro precu Kindoli mandarun sos consolos, e nois demus illi duas ankillas, ki farmi cojuvatas, suna cun servo suo in loco de rnola, e sattera in templo cun servii de malu sennu: a suna naran Maria Trivillo, a sattera jorgia Furchille, suna fuit de sa domo de Villa Alba, e sattera fuit de Santu Petru de Surake ... Testes Judike Barusone, Episcopu Jovanni de Galtelli, e Prite Petru I upu e Gosantine Troppis e prite Marchu e prite Natale e prite Gosantino Gulpio e prite Gomita Gatta e prite Comita Prias e Gerardu de Conettu ... e atteros rnete testes. Anno dom.milles.centes.septuag.tertio
8. Vois messer N. electu potestate assu regimentu dessa terra de Sassari daue su altu Cumone de Janna azes jurare a sancta dei evangelia, qui fina assu termen a bois ordinatu bene et lejalmente azes facher su offitiu potestaria in sa dicta terra de Sassari ...
9. Incipit to "Lettera al Maestro" in "La Sardegna e la Corsica", Ines Loi Corvetto, Torino, UTET Libreria, 1993: Semper happisi desiggiu, Illustrissimu Segnore, de magnificare, & arrichire sa limba nostra Sarda; dessa matessi manera qui sa naturale insoro tottu sas naciones dessu mundu hant magnificadu & arrichidu; comente est de vider per isos curiosos de cuddas.
10. ... L'Alguer castillo fuerte bien murado / con frutales por tierra muy divinos / y por la mar coral fino eltremando / es ciudad de mas de mil vecinos...
11. Jacinto Arnal de Bolea (1636), El Forastero, Antonio Galcerin editor, Cagliari - "...ofreciéndonos a la vista la insigne ciudad de Càller, corte que me dixerón era de aquel reino.La hermosura de las damas, el buen gusto de su alino, lo prendido y bien saconado de lo curioso-dandole vida con mil donaires-, la grandeza en los titulos, el lucimientos en los cavalleros, el concurso grande de la nobleza y el agasajo para un forastero no os los podrá zifrar mi conocimiento. Basta para su alavanza el deciros que alcuna vez, con olvido en mi peregrinaciò y con descuido en mis disdichas, discurria por los templos no estrano y por las calles no atajado, me hallava con evidencias grandes que era aquel sitio el alma de Madrid, que con tanta urbanidad y cortesia se exercitavan en sus nobles correspondencias"
12. Juan Francisco Carmona Cagliari, 1610–1670, Alabança de San George obispu suelense: Citizen (in Spanish): "You, shepherd! What frightens you? Have you never seen some people gathering?"; Shepherd (in Sardinian): "Are you asking me if I'm married?"; Citizen (in Spanish): "You're not getting a grasp of what I say, do you? Oh, what an idiot shepherd!"; Shepherd (in Sardinian): "I'm actually thirsty and tired"; Citizen (in Spanish): "I'd better speak in Sardinian so that we understand each other better. (in Sardinian) Tell me, shepherd, where are you from?"; Shepherd: "I'm from Suelli, my lord, I've been ordered to bring my lord a present"; Citizen: "Ah, now you understand what I said, don't you!". ("Ciudadano: Que tiens pastor, de que te espantas? que nunca has visto pueblo congregado?; Pastor: E ite mi naís, si seu coiadu?; Ciudadano: Que no me entiendes? o, que pastor bozial aqui me vino; Pastor: A fidi tengu sidi e istau fadiau; Ciudadano: Mejor sera que en sardo tambien able pues algo dello se y nos oigamos. Nada mi su pastori de undi seis?; Pastor: De Suedi mi Sennori e m'anti cumandadu portari unu presenti a monsignori; Ciudadano: Jmoi já mi jntendeis su que apu nadu").
13. Jn Dei nomine Amen, noverint comente sende personalmente constituidos in presensia mia notariu et de sos testimongios infrascrittos sa viuda Caterina Casada et Coco mugere fuit de su Nigola Casada jàganu, Franziscu Casada et Joanne Casada Frades, filios de su dittu Nigola et Caterina Casada de sa presente cittade faguinde custas cosas gratis e de certa sciensia insoro, non per forza fraudu, malissia nen ingannu nen pro nexuna attera sinistra macchinassione cun tuttu su megius modu chi de deretu poden et deven, attesu et cunsideradu chi su dittu Nigola Casada esseret siguida dae algunos corpos chi li dein de notte, pro sa quale morte fettin querella et reclamo contra sa persona de Pedru Najtana, pro paura de sa justissia, si ausentait, in sa quale aussensia est dae unu annu pattindre multos danno, dispesas, traballos e disusios.
14. King Charles Emmanuel III of Sardinia, Royal Note, 23 July 1760: "Since we must use for such teachings (lower schools), among the most cultured languages, the one that is the less distant from the native dialect and the most appropriate to public administration at the same time, we have decided to use Italian in the aforementioned schools, as it is in fact no more different from the Sardinian language than the Spanish one, and indeed the most educated Sardinians have already a grasp of it; it is also the most viable option to facilitate and increase trade; the Piedmontese in the Kingdom won't have to learn another language to be employed in the public sector, and the Sardinians could also find work on the continent." Original: "Dovendosi per tali insegnamenti (scuole inferiori) adoperare fra le lingue più colte quella che è meno lontana dal materno dialetto ed a un tempo la più corrispondente alle pubbliche convenienze, si è determinato di usare nelle scuole predette l'italiana, siccome quella appunto che non essendo più diversa dalla sarda di quello fosse la castigliana, poiché anzi la maggior parte dei sardi più colti già la possiede; resta altresì la più opportuna per maggiormente agevolare il commercio ed aumentare gli scambievoli comodi; ed i Piemontesi che verranno nel Regno, non avranno a studiare una nuova lingua per meglio abituarsi al servizio pubblico e dei sardi, i quali in tal modo potranno essere impiegati anche nel continente.

15. In Spano's dedication to **Charles Albert's wife**, out of sincere devotion to the new rulers and will to escape the grip of censorship, there are several passages in which the author sings the praises of the Savoyards and their cultural policies pursued in Sardinia, such as "It was destiny that the sweet Italian tongue, although born on the pleasant banks of the **Arno**, would one day also become rich heritage of the **Tirso**'s inhabitants" (p. 5) and, formulating a vow of loyalty to the new dynasty of regents that followed the Spanish ones, "Sardinia owes so much to the most August HOUSE OF SAVOY, which, once the Hispanic domination had ceased, so wisely promoted the development of science, and also commanded during the middle of the last century, that Tuscan be made the language of the Dicasteries and public education" (p. 6). The Preface, entitled *Al giovanetto alunno*, states the intention, already common to Porru, to publish a work dedicated to the teaching of Italian, through the differences and similarities provided by another language more familiar to the Sardinian subjects.
16. "It would be a great innovation, with regard to both the civilizing process of Sardinia and the public education, to ban the Sardinian dialects in every social and ecclesiastical activity, mandating the use of the Italian language... At the moment, Sardinian is used to make announcements, and to sing the songs of the Saints (**Goccius**), some of them without any decency... It is also necessary to eradicate the Sardinian dialect [sic] and introduce the Italian language in its place even for other reasons, which are not less important; that is, to civilize that nation [Sardinia], so that they are able to comprehend the Government's instructions and commands,... and remove one of the biggest differences between Sardinia and the Mainland states, as well." Original text (in Italian): "Una innovazione in materia di incivilimento della Sardegna e d'istruzione pubblica, che sotto vari aspetti sarebbe importantissima, si è quella di proibire severamente in ogni atto pubblico civile non meno che nelle funzioni ecclesiastiche, tranne le prediche, l'uso dei dialetti sardi, prescrivendo l'esclusivo impiego della lingua italiana. Attualmente in sardo si gettano i così detti pregoni o bandi; in sardo si cantano gl'inni dei Santi (**Goccius**), alcuni dei quali privi di dignità... È necessario inoltre scemare l'uso del dialetto sardo [sic] ed introdurre quello della lingua italiana anche per altri non men forti motivi; ossia per incivilire alquanto quella nazione, si affinché vi siano più universalmente comprese le istruzioni e gli ordini del Governo,... sì finalmente per togliere una delle maggiori divisioni, che sono fra la Sardegna e i Regi stati di terraferma." (Carlo Baudi di Vesme, *Considerazioni politiche ed economiche sulla Sardegna*, 1848)
17. Andrea Manca dell'Arca, an agronomist from Sassari (a city which, like most of Northern Sardinia, had been historically more exposed via Corsica to the Italian culture than the rest of the island) had so illustrated how Italian was still perceived by the locals: "Italian is as familiar to me as Latin, French or other foreign languages which one only partially learns through grammar study and the books, without fully getting the hang of them" [...] (Original text: [...]È tanto nativa per me la lingua italiana, come la latina, francese o altre forestiere che solo s'imparano in parte colla grammatica, uso e frequente lezione de' libri, ma non si possiede appieno[...]). Ricordi di Santu Lussurgiu di Francesco Maria Porcu In *Santu Lussurgiu dalle Origini alla "Grande Guerra"* – Grafiche editoriali Solinas – Nuoro, 2005
18. The introduction of Italian as a foreign language to the Sardinian villages is exemplified in a passage from the contemporary Francesco (**Frantziscu**) Masala's *Sa limba est s'istoria de su mundu ; Condaghe de Biddafraigada* ("The language is the world's history ; Biddafraigada's Condaghe"), Condaghes, p.4: "A sos tempos de sa pitzinnia, in bidda, totus chistionaiamus in limba sarda. In domos nostras no si faeddaiat atera limba. E deo, in sa limba nadia, comintzei a connoscher totu sas cosas de su mundu. A sos ses annos, intrei in prima elementare e su mastru de iscola proibeit, a mie e a sos fedales mios, de faeddale in s'unica limba chi connoschiamus: depiamus chistionare in limba italiana, «la lingua della Patria», nos nareit, seriu seriu, su mastru de iscola. Gai, totus sos pitzinnos de 'idda, intraian in iscola abbistos e allrigos e nde bessian tontos e caristratos." ("When I was a little kid growing up in the village, we all used to speak in the Sardinian language. We did not speak any other language in our homes. And I began to know all the things of the world in the native language. At the age of six, I went to first grade and the school teacher forbade me as well as my peers to speak in the only language we knew: from that moment on, we only had to speak in Italian, <<the language of the Fatherland>>, he told us seriously. Thus, the children of our village would come to school bright and happy, and walk out of school empty-headed and with a gloomy look on our faces.")
19. Bolognesi (1998: 7) stated that in his school years in Sardinia, he «witnessed both physical and psychological abuse against monolingual Sardinian-speaking children. The psychological violence consisted usually in calling the children "donkeys" and in inviting the whole class to join the mockery».

20. Istanza del Prof. A. Sanna sulla pronuncia della Facoltà di Lettere in relazione alla difesa del patrimonio etnico-linguistico sardo. Il prof. Antonio Sanna fa a questo proposito una dichiarazione: <<Gli indifferenti problemi della scuola, sempre affrontati in Sardegna in forma empirica, appaiono oggi assai particolari e non risolvibili in un generico quadro nazionale; il tatto stesso che la scuola sia diventata scuola di massa comporta il rifiuto di una didattica inadeguata, in quanto basata sull'apprendimento concettuale attraverso una lingua, per molti aspetti estranea al tessuto culturale sardo. Poiché esiste un popolo sardo con una propria lingua dai caratteri diversi e distinti dall'italiano, ne discende che la lingua ufficiale dello Stato, risulta in effetti una lingua straniera, per di più insegnata con metodi didatticamente errati, che non tengono in alcun conto la lingua materna dei Sardi: e ciò con grave pregiudizio per un'efficace trasmissione della cultura sarda, considerata come sub-cultura. Va dunque respinto il tentativo di considerare come unica soluzione valida per questi problemi una forzata e artificiale forma di acculturazione dall'esterno, la quale ha dimostrato (e continua a dimostrare tutti) suoi gravi limiti, in quanto incapace di risolvere i problemi dell'isola. È perciò necessario promuovere dall'interno i valori autentici della cultura isolana, primo fra tutti quello dell'autonomia, e "provocare un salto di qualità senza un'acculturazione di tipo colonialistico, e il superamento cosciente del dislivello di cultura" (Lilliu). La Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, coerentemente con queste premesse con l'istituzione di una Scuola Superiore di Studi Sardi, è pertanto invitata ad assumere l'iniziativa di proporre alle autorità politiche della Regione Autonoma e dello Stato il riconoscimento della condizione di minoranza etnico-linguistica per la Sardegna e della lingua sarda come lingua <<nazionale>> della minoranza. È di conseguenza opportuno che si predispongano tutti i provvedimenti a livello scolastico per la difesa e conservazione dei valori tradizionali della lingua e della cultura sarda e, in questo contesto, di tutti i dialetti e le tradizioni culturali presenti in Sardegna (ci si intende riferire al Gallurese, al Sassarese, all'Algherese e al Ligure-Carlofortino). In ogni caso tali provvedimenti dovranno comprendere necessariamente, ai livelli minimi dell'istruzione, la partenza dell'insegnamento del sardo e dei vari dialetti parlati in Sardegna, l'insegnamento nella scuola dell'obbligo riservato ai Sardi o coloro che dimostrino un'adeguata conoscenza del sardo, o tutti quegli altri provvedimenti atti a garantire la conservazione dei valori tradizionali della cultura sarda. È bene osservare come, nel quadro della diffusa tendenza a livello internazionale per la difesa delle lingue delle minoranze minacciate, provvedimenti simili a quelli proposti sono presi in Svizzera per la minoranza ladina fin dal 1938 (48000 persone), in Inghilterra per il Galles, in Italia per le minoranze valdostana, slovena e ultimamente ladina (15000 persone), oltre che per quella tedesca; a proposito di queste ultime e specificamente in relazione al nuovo ordinamento scolastico alto-atesino. Il presidente del Consiglio on. Colombo, nel raccomandare alla Camera le modifiche da apportare allo Statuto della Regione Trentino-Alto Adige (il cosiddetto "pacchetto"), <<modifiche che non escono dal concetto di autonomia indicato dalla Costituzione>>, ha ritenuto di dover sottolineare l'opportunità "che i giovani siano istruiti nella propria lingua materna da insegnanti appartenenti allo stesso gruppo linguistico"; egli inoltre aggiungeva che "solo eliminando ogni motivo di rivendicazione si crea il necessario presupposto per consentire alla scuola di svolgere la sua funzione fondamentale in un clima propizio per la migliore formazione degli allievi". Queste chiare parole del presidente del Consiglio ci consentono di credere che non si voglia compiere una discriminazione nei confronti della minoranza sarda, ma anche per essa valga il principio enunciato dall'opportunità dell'insegnamento della lingua materna ad opera di insegnanti appartenenti allo stesso gruppo linguistico, onde consentire alla scuola di svolgere anche in Sardegna la sua funzione fondamentale in un clima propizio alla migliore formazione per gli allievi. Si chiarisce che tutto ciò non è sciovinismo né rinuncia a una cultura irrinunciabile, ma una civile e motivata iniziativa per realizzare in Sardegna una vera scuola, una vera rinascita, "in un rapporto di competizione culturale con lo Stato (...) che arricchisce la Nazione" (Lilliu)>>. Il Consiglio unanime approva le istanze proposte dal prof. Sanna e invita le competenti autorità politiche a promuovere tutte le iniziative necessarie, sul piano sia scolastico che politico-economico, a sviluppare coerentemente tali principi, nel contempo acquisendo dati atti a mettere in luce il sospetto stato. Cagliari, 19 Febbraio 1971. [Farris, Priamo (2016). *Problemas e aficàntzias de sa pianificatzioni linguistica in Sardigna. Limba, Istòria, Sotziedadi / Problemi e prospettive della pianificazione linguistica in Sardegna. Lingua, Storia, Società*, Youcanprint]
21. "O sardu, si ses sardu e si ses bonu, / Semper sa limba tua apas presente: / No sias che isciau ubbidiente / Faeddende sa limba 'e su padronu. / Sa nassione chi peldet su donu / De sa limba iscumparit lentamente, / Massimu si che l'essit dae mente / In iscritura che in arrejonu. / Sa limba 'e babbos e de jajos nostros / No l'usades pius nemmancu in domo / Prite pobera e ruza la creides. / Si a iscola no che la jughides / Po la difunder menzus, dae como / Sezis dissardizende a fizos bostros." ("Oh Sardinian! If you are Sardinian and a good Sardinian as well, you should always keep your language etched in your mind: do not be like a submissive slave, speaking your master's language. The nation that loses the gift of its own language is fated to slowly fade out of existence, especially when it does not come to its mind anymore to write and speak. Not even at home is the language of our ancestors used anymore, for you consider it wretched and uncouth. If you do not bring it to be taught in school so as to better spread its use, from now on you are going to be stripping the Sardinian identity out of your children.") In "Piras, Raimondo. No sias isciau" (http://www.poesias.it/poeti/piras_raimondo/sonet_t/No_sias_isciau.rtf).
22. Gavino Pau, in an article published on La Nuova Sardegna (18 aprile 1978, *Una lingua defunta da studiare a scuola*), claimed that "per tutti l'italiano era un'altra lingua nella quale traducevamo i nostri pensieri che, irrefrenabili, sgorgavano in sardo" and went on to conclude that for the Sardinian language "abbiamo vissuto, per essa abbiamo sofferto, per essa viviamo e vivremo. Il giorno che essa morrà, moriremo anche noi come sardi." (cit. in Melis Onnis, Giovanni (2014). *Fueddariu sardu campidanese-italianu*, Domus de Janas, Presentazione)
23. Similar dynamics led the Irish language to be primarily spoken only in certain areas, known as Gaeltacht (Edwards J., *Language, society and identity*, Oxford, 1985)
24. As opposed to the transitive use of *morrer / morri a...*, which means "to kill" instead. E.g.: *Pascale at mortu a tziu Bachis* ("Pascal has killed uncle Bachisio").

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100. Gessner, Conrad (1555). De differentiis linguarum tum veterum tum quae hodie apud diversas nationes in toto orbe terraru in usu sunt (<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k938671>), Sardorum lingua: pp. 66-67
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102. Why is Catalan spoken in L'Alguer? – Corpus Oral de l'Alguerès (<http://prosodia.upf.edu/coalgueres/en/aluerges.html>)
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14. "Las apo voltadas in sardu menjus qui non in atera limba pro amore de su vulgu [...] qui non tenjan bisonju de interprete pro bi-las declarare, et tambene pro esser sa limba sarda tantu bona, quanta participat de sa latina, qui nexuna de quantas limbas si plàticam est tantu parente assa latina formale quantu sa sarda." *Garipa, Joan Matheu. Legendariu de santas virgines, et martires de Iesu Christu*, 1627, Per Lodouicu Grignanu, Roma (https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_pbBMjcSo_60C)
15. "Totu sas naziones iscrint e imprentant sos libros in sas propias limbas nadias e duncas peri sa Sardigna – sigomente est una natzione – depet iscriere e imprentare sos libros in limba sarda. Una limba - sight Garipa - chi de seguru bisongiat de irrichimenti e de afinamientos, ma non est de contu prus pagu de sas ateras limbas neolatinas." ("All the nations write and print books in their native languages and therefore Sardinia - which is a nation - should do so as well, in Sardinian language. A language - follows Garipa - which certainly needs a little enrichment and refinement, but is no less important than the other Neolatin languages"). *Casula, Francesco. Sa chistione de sa limba in Montanaru e oe* (<https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/3400254.pdf>)
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25. «L'attività riformatrice si allargò anche ad altri campi: scuole in lingua italiana per riallacciare la cultura isolana a quella del continente, lotta contro il banditismo, ripopolamento di terre e ville deserte con Liguri, Piemontesi, Corsi.» Roberto Almagia et al., *Sardegna, Encyclopædia Italiana* (1936) (http://www.treccani.it/encyclopedias/sardegna_%28Encyclopædia-Italiana%29/), Treccani, "Storia"
26. <<L'italianizzazione dell'isola fu un obiettivo fondamentale della politica sabauda, strumentale a un più ampio progetto di assimilazione della Sardegna al Piemonte.>> Cardia, Amos (2006). *S'italianu in Sardinnia candu, cumenti e poita d'ant impostu: 1720-1848; poderi e lingua in Sardinnia in edadi spanniola*, Iskra, Ghilarza, p.92
127. <<To the Savoyard functionaries, who were well into bureaucratic absolutism as well as raised to the cult of orderliness and precision, the island looked like something alien and bizarre, like a Country that was prey to barbarism and anarchy, populated by savages who were anything but nice. It was unlikely that the functionaries could regard anything different as other than utter evil. They therefore proceeded to apply to Sardinia the same formulas of Piedmont.>> Original text: <<Ai funzionari sabaudi, inseriti negli ingranaggi dell'assolutismo burocratico ed educati al culto della regolarità e della precisione, l'isola appariva come qualcosa di estraneo e di bizzarro, come un Paese in preda alla barbarie e all'anarchia, popolato di selvaggi tutt'altro che buoni. Era difficile che quei funzionari potessero considerare il diverso altrimenti che come puro negativo. E infatti essi presero ad applicare alla Sardegna le stesse ricette applicate al Piemonte.>>. Guerci, Luciano (2006). *L'Europa del Settecento : permanenze e mutamenti*, UTET, p.576
128. <<En aquest sentit, la italianització definitiva de l'illa representava per a ell l'objectiu més urgent, i va decidir de contribuir-hi tot reformant les Universitats de Càller i de Sàsser, bandejant-ne alhora els jesuïtes de la direcció per tal com mantenien encara una relació massa estreta amb la cultura espanyola. El ministre Bogino havia entès que només dins d'una Universitat reformada podia crear-se una nova generació de joves que contribuïssin a homogeneïtzar de manera absoluta Sardenya amb el Piemont.>> Joan Armangué i Herrero, *Represa i exercici de la consciència lingüística a l'Algúer (ss.XVIII-XX)*, Arxiu de Tradicions de l'Algúer, Cagliari, I.1
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137. Salvi, Sergio (1974). *Le lingue tagliate*, Rizzoli, pg.182-183
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140. Matteo Madau, *Ichnussa* (http://www.poesias.it/poeti/madau_matteo/madau.htm)
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47. *Saggio di grammatica sul dialetto sardo meridionale dedicato a sua altezza reale Maria Cristina di Bourbon infanta delle Sicilie duchessa del genevese*, Cagliari, Reale Stamperia, 1811
48. <<[Il Porru] In generale considera la lingua un patrimonio che deve essere tutelato e migliorato con sollecitudine. In definitiva, per il Porru possiamo ipotizzare una probabilmente sincera volontà di salvaguardia della lingua sarda che però, dato il clima di severa censura e repressione creato dal dominio sabaudo, dovette esprimersi tutta in funzione di un miglior apprendimento dell'italiano. Siamo nel 1811, ancora a breve distanza dalla stagione calda della rivolta antifeudale e repubblicana, dentro il periodo delle congiure e della repressione.>> Cardia, Amos (2006). *S'italianu in Sardinia candu, cumenti e poita d'ant impostu: 1720-1848; poderi e lingua in Sardinia in edadi spanniola*, Iskra, Ghilarza, pp. 112-113
49. Johanne Ispanu (1840). "Ortographia Sarda Nationale o siat Grammatica de sa limba logudoresa cumparada cum s'italiana" (<http://www.sardegnadigitallibrary.it/mmt/fullsize/2009042212524300097.pdf>) (PDF). Kalaris: Reale Stamperia.
50. <<Il presente lavoro però restringesi propriamente al solo Logudorese ossia Centrale, che questo forma la vera lingua nazionale, la più antica ed armoniosa e che soffri alterazioni meno delle altre>>. Ispanu, Johanne (1840). *Ortographia sarda nationale o siat grammatica de sa limba logudoresa cumparada cum s'italiana*, pg.12
51. <<[...] Nonetheless, the two works by Spano are of extraordinary importance, as they put on the table in Sardinia the "question of the Sardinian language", the language that should have been the unified and unifying one, to be enforced on the island over its singular dialects; the language of the Sardinian nation, through which the island was keen to project itself onto the other European nations, that already reached or were about to reach their political and cultural actualization in the 1800s, including the Italian nation. And just along the lines of what had been theorized and put into effect in favour of the Italian nation, that was successfully completing the process of linguistic unification by elevating the Florentine dialect to the role of "national language", so in Sardinia the long-desired "Sardinian national language" was given the name of "illustrious Sardinian".>> Original: <<[...] Ciononostante le due opere dello Spano sono di straordinaria importanza, in quanto aprirono in Sardegna la discussione sul problema della lingua sarda, quella che sarebbe dovuta essere la lingua unificata ed unificante, che si sarebbe dovuta imporre in tutta l'isola sulle particolarità dei singoli dialetti e suddialetti, la lingua della nazione sarda, con la quale la Sardegna intendeva inserirsi tra le altre nazioni europee, quelle che nell'Ottocento avevano già raggiunto o stavano per raggiungere la loro attuazione politica e culturale, compresa la nazione italiana. E proprio sulla falsariga di quanto era stato teorizzato ed anche attuato a favore della nazione italiana, che nell'Ottocento stava per portare a termine il processo di unificazione linguistica, elevando il dialetto fiorentino e toscano al ruolo di "lingua nazionale", chiamandolo italiano illustre, anche in Sardegna l'auspicata lingua nazionale sarda fu denominata sardo illustre>>. Massimo Pittau, *Grammatica del sardo illustre*, Nuoro, pp. 11-12, [Introduction](http://www.pittau.it/Sardo/sardoillustre.html) (<http://www.pittau.it/Sardo/sardoillustre.html>)
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53. Cardia, Amos (2006). *S'italianu in Sardinia candu, cumenti e poita d'ant impostu: 1720-1848; poderi e lingua in Sardinia in edadi spanniola*, Iskra, Ghilarza, p. 89
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157. <<Des del seu càrrec de capità general, Carles Fèlix havia lluitat amb mà rígida contra les darreres actituds antipiemonteses que encara dificultaven l'activitat del govern. Ara promulgava el Codi felicià (1827), amb el qual totes les lleis sardes eren recollides i, sovint, modificades. Pel que ara ens interessa, cal assenyalar que el nou codi abolia la Carta de Logu – la «consuetud de la nació sardesca», vigent des de l'any 1421 – i allò que restava de l'antic dret municipalista basat en el privilegi.>> Joan Armangué i Herrero, *Represa i exercici de la consciència lingüística a l'Alguer (ss.XVIII-XX)*, Arxiu de Tradicions de l'Alguer, Cagliari, I.1
158. "Il trapiantamento in Sardegna, senza riserve ed ostacoli, della civiltà e cultura continentale, la formazione d'una sola famiglia civile sotto un solo Padre meglio che Re, il Grande Carlo Alberto." Martini, Pietro (1847). *Sull'unione civile della Sardegna colla Liguria, col Piemonte e colla Savoia*, Cagliari, Timon, p. 4
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160. "...la 'lingua della sarda nazione' perse il valore di strumento di identificazione etnica di un popolo e della sua cultura, da codificare e valorizzare, per diventare uno dei tanti dialetti regionali subordinati alla lingua nazionale." Dettori, Antonietta, 2001. *Sardo e italiano: tappe fondamentali di un complesso rapporto*, in Argiolas, Mario; Serra, Roberto. *Limba lingua language: lingue locali, standardizzazione e identità in Sardegna nell'era della globalizzazione*, Cagliari, CUEC, p. 88
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193. «Come primo atto, il maestro decise di dividere la classe in due: da una parte sistemò i bambini che lui sapeva essere già "bravi", che appartenevano a famiglie di ceto e condizione superiore, che parlavano in italiano, dall'altra aggregò, ben distinti per banco, i bambini "non bravi", qualcuno più irrequieto di altri, qualche altro scalzo e che puzzava di pecora, quelli, cioè, che l'italiano non sapevano neppure cosa fosse, e che portavano addosso, ben impresso, il marchio dei figli della gleba. Quando poi fece l'appello, con mia grande sorpresa, scoprì che per la scuola e per il maestro io non ero più "Gianneddu" ma "Giovanni".» Melis Onnis, Giovanni (2014). *Fueddariu sardu campidanese-italianu*, Domus de Janas, Presentazione.
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06. «il sardo continua ad agire anche nelle menti dei sardi che il sardo non lo conoscono né lo parlano, che non l'hanno mai appreso e imparato; il sardo agisce se non altro nelle strutture linguistiche d'ogni livello dell'italiano regionale di Sardegna, che è il codice usato dai più (agisce nella fonetica, nella sintassi e in ampi settori del lessico)...» Virdis, Maurizio (2003). *La lingua sarda oggi: bilinguismo, problemi di identità culturale e realtà scolastica*, cit. in Convegno dalla lingua materna al plurilinguismo, Gorizia, 6.
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14. <<In altre parole, queste divisioni del sardo in logudorese e campidanese sono basate unicamente sulla necessità - chiarissima nel Cetti - di arrivare comunque a una divisione della Sardegna in due "capi". [...] La grande omogeneità grammaticale del sardo viene ignorata, per quanto riguarda gli autori tradizionali, in parte per mancanza di cultura linguistica, ma soprattutto per la volontà, riscontrata esplicitamente in Spano e Wagner, di dividere il sardo e i sardi in varietà "pure" e "spurie". In altri termini, la divisione del sardo in due varietà nettamente distinte è frutto di un approccio ideologico alla variazione dialettale in Sardegna.>> Bolognesi, Roberto. *Le identità linguistiche dei sardi*, Condaghes, 2013, pg.141
15. <<Queste pretese barriere sono costituite da una manciata di fenomeni lessicali e fonetico-morfologici che, comunque, non impediscono la mutua comprensibilità tra parlanti di diverse varietà del sardo. Detto questo, bisogna ripetere che le varie operazioni di divisione del sardo in due varietà sono tutte basate quasi esclusivamente sull'esistenza di pronunce diverse di lessemi (parole e morfemi) per il resto uguali. [...] Come si è visto, non solo la sintassi di tutte le varietà del sardo è praticamente identica, ma la quasi totalità delle differenze morfologiche è costituita da differenze, in effetti, lessicali e la percentuale di parole realmente differenti si aggira intorno al 10% del totale.>> Bolognesi, Roberto. *Le identità linguistiche dei sardi*, Condaghes, 2013, pg.141
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- [Ditzionario in línia de sa limba e de sa cultura sarda - Online Sardinian Dictionary](https://ditzionario.nor-web.eu/en/) (<https://ditzionario.nor-web.eu/en/>) (in Sardinian, Italian and English)
- [CROS - Curretore regionale ortogràficu sardu in línia](http://www.sardegnacultura.it/cds/cros-lsc/) (<http://www.sardegnacultura.it/cds/cros-lsc/>) (Sardinian spell checker)
- [Apertium](https://www.apertium.org/index.eng.html?dir=ita-srd#translation) (<https://www.apertium.org/index.eng.html?dir=ita-srd#translation>). Automatic translation software from Italian and Catalan to Sardinian.
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- [List of Sardinian given names](#) (from it.wiki)
- [Antoninu Rubattu's site](http://wwwantoninurubattu.it/) (<http://wwwantoninurubattu.it/>). In addition to vocabularies of each Sardinian variety of the language and non-Sardinian languages, the site provides the reader also with some basic grammar guides and etymology dictionaries as well.
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 - [University of Berlin](http://www.lingrom.fu-berlin.de/sardu/) (<http://www.lingrom.fu-berlin.de/sardu/>) – Contains many links and other information about the language.
 - Grammar of Nuorese Sardinian – Wikibooks (English-incomplete)
 - Grammar of Nuorese Sardinian – Sardinian Wikipedia (Sardinian-incomplete)
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